

**ARTHUR RANSOME: DISPATCHES FROM
RUSSIA, 1917-1924.
VOLUME I.
1917**

J.M.GALLANAR, EDITOR.

ARTHUR RANSOME

Perhaps better known for his *Swallows And Amazon* books written in the 1930's and 1940's, Arthur Ransome was a literary critic and a political journalist in his early years. Arriving in Russia in 1913, he became by 1915 a correspondent for the [London] *Daily News* and *Leader* initially reporting on Russia's role in World War I. He soon became absorbed in the Russian political scene and eventually the Russian Revolution and what followed. He reported to the *Daily News* and *Observer* and subsequently the *Manchester Guardian* and briefly the *New York Times*. In addition his reports appeared in the *New York Herald* and the *Baltimore Sun*. His dispatches also appeared in the [London] *Star*, the sister newspaper for the *Daily News*. His knowledge of Russian gave him direct access to the Bolshevik leadership. He remained in Russia except for brief trips to England. During much of the central part of this period he also spent much time in the border state as he followed the revolution and the movements for independence which flowed from the Bolshevik Revolution across Russia's borders. Ransome was the only Western journalist to follow these events through this entire period and is therefore a major resource for our knowledge of these events.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924.

DEDICATION.

**FOR:
THE MEMORY OF MALCOLM C. GALLANAR.
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DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924.

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I WISH TO THANK THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATION FOR ALL THEY HAVE HELPED ME ON THIS PROJECT.

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[London] Daily News.

[London] Observer.

Manchester Guardian.

New York Times [US]

His articles sporadically appeared for very brief periods in the following newspapers.

New York Herald

Baltimore Sun

[London] Star. The Star was the evening sister newspaper of the Daily News and carried the same articles. The American Papers used his articles from the Daily News.

One very important acknowledgement. Without Wayne Hammond's very excellent bibliography entitled ARTHUR RANSOME, A BIBLIOGRAPHY a work of this kind could not have been done.

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TEXT NOTES.

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1. Newspaper Initials used.

DN. Daily News.

O. Observer.

MG. Manchester Guardian.

NYT. New York Times.

2. In a very few cases Hammond's page reference is incorrect. This has been noted.

3. In some cases the dispatch or parts of it were blurred and unreadable as a result of the photograph process when copying the original from the microfilm process. This has been noted either as unreadable (larger sections) or ??? (shorter and words)

TWO INTRODUCTIONS. Introduction I is a dispatch to the Manchester Guardian written by Ransome in 1927 after he returned to Russia following his assignments in Egypt and China. It reviews the developments in Russia over the ten years since the Bolshevik Revolution as seen by Ransome. Introduction II is a much more detailed background account of the events that Ransome discussed. It is for the reader who has only a general knowledge of this period. (See Vol. I).

Readers of Ransome's THE CRISIS IN RUSSIA and RUSSIA IN 1919 will recognize some of the dispatches which were incorporated into these two books.

INTRODUCTION I

Ten Anniversaries.

Soviet Russia's Retrospect.

[Manchester Guardian November 8, 1927]

Be Arthur Ransome

On November 7, 1917, the revolutionaries of the extreme Left took control in the capital of what had been the Russian Empire but had a little earlier been declared at least a temporary republic. It immediately became clear that this was not a mere change of persons in charge of Ministerial portfolios but an event of much greater importance. For the propertied and privileged classes of Russia it was an overthrow of the whole world to which they were accustomed. To the War Offices of the Allies it brought the new menace of a disorderly peace. To the War Office at Berlin it brought the hope of saving the war in the west by a victorious peace in the east; to that of Vienna the fear that revolt against war in one army might be followed by similar revolt in another. To the revolutionaries it was the supreme adventure for which their lives had been a preparation. In their view, for a day at least, the class that would eventually rule had asserted its dominion. Not many of them believed that the event in which they were taking active part could be more than a tremendous gesture. Nor did their opponents believe that this gesture could be sustained for more than a week or two. Hardly a man believed that a year later they would be celebrating the anniversary of the day on which it was first made.

[1918]

But on November 7, 1918, the Bolsheviks rejoiced not only in the first anniversary of their victory but in the promise of much greater victories to come. Moscow and Petrograd still flew the Red Flag after a year that seemed like ten. There had been moments in it when it had seemed that a few days would see German troops in both capitals. There had been civil war and victory in it. There had been the defection of the Ukrainian Rada, the days of anxiety after the refusal to sign the Peace of Brest Litovsk , the German advance, the signing of the peace, German occupation of the Ukraine, German occupation of Finland. Then there had been the beginnings of Allied intervention. The Czechoslovak troops had

seized the Siberian Railway. Allied troops had landed at Archangel and at Vladivostok. The enemy were within striking distance of Petrograd, and held Reval and Riga. The territory of the Soviet Republic was a tiny splash of red on the great map of what had been Russia. Yet it survived, and on November 7 there was news of revolts in Austria, in Germany. The German front in the west had collapsed. The drum of world revolution thrummed in their ears as the Bolsheviks at their rejoicings were interrupted by telegram after

telegram, each one bringing news of what was to them the promise that the idea for which they had risked their lives was about to triumph in the west, and, triumphing, to fulfill the conditions of the Marxian prophecy and by world revolution give permanence to their own. The tramp of the world revolution sounded close at hand, and it seemed to them that in a day, in a week, in a few hours the center of the conflict would shift to Berlin, to Paris, to London, and that their enemies would vanish as, already, the German troops were vanishing from the provinces they had held.

After Two Years. [1919]

A year later, breathless after the survival of new dangers, they were celebrating again. The world revolution was farther off now and not so distinctly to be heard. It had flared, disastrously, in Budapest. It was decidedly dying down in Berlin. It had not kept its first promise of a spectacular rescue of Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia had had to save herself, and in November, 1919, the Bolsheviks were hopeful that she had done it. Deniken had been flung back from Orel scarcely a week before. A few days only had elapsed since Judenitch had been in sight of Petrograd and had been driven to the Estonian frontier. Kolchak was finding his rear disintegrate behind him. Outside the hall where the Executive

Committee met in Moscow was a map recording the movements of troops. Neglected in victory, it still showed the enemy at their very gates.

[1920]

The triumph of November, 1919, had been a triumph hardly to be trusted, and a year later, in 1920, the celebrations were again those of a State that had survived great military dangers. There had been the tremendous fluctuations of the Polish War, the taking of Kiev by the Poles and the all but taking of Warsaw by the Russians, the advance of Wrangel from the Crimea. The revolution was definitely victorious in Russia. At the same

time the hope that the blaze in Russia was to be the signal for a general European bonfire had waned, and the revolutionaries were beginning to face a new problem of survival, as a revolution, in a world that clung to the system the overthrow of which they believed they had begun in 1917. They had won peace, but at a price that left them almost hopelessly crippled. The celebrations of 1920 took place in an atmosphere of triumph that was not very far removed from desperation an atmosphere of fierce debate among the victorious revolutionaries as to what on earth was to be done.

“NEP” [1921]

By November 7, 1921, the turning point to had been passed. The conditions of living in Moscow and in Petrograd had reached their worst towards the end of the winter of 1920-1. There had been shortage of fuel as well as shortage of food. In both cities there had been unmistakable signs of unrest. The Kronstadt revolt, which, by its threat of a renewal of war, brought about instant quiet in the two capitals, was itself clear proof that changes must be made without further delay. Lenin reverted to the plans that had been his in 1918 before intervention had surrounded the country with a ring of hostile forces. He persuaded the Communists to take the first steps of carrying out what became known as Nep. the New Economic Policy. Wholesale requisitioning was replaced by a definite tax payable in corn, leaving the peasant free to sell what corn he had beyond the amount he had to pay. This was enough to restore to the peasant a motive for cultivation. It carried with it corollaries that had an almost instantaneous effect in the reawakening of the towns as centers not only of consumption but of trade. If the peasant was to be free to sell, other people must be free to buy. Private trade could no longer be forbidden. Since the state could not itself buy all that the town population needed, rationing and the free distribution of requisitioned food came also to an end. The State and the individual were to compete in the open market, with the scales weighted as heavily as possible in favor of the State.

The towns breathed again. Tension between town and country slackened. The shops opened that normally competent observers had thought would never be opened again. The peasants tilled once more, with hope of gain, the lands that they had been letting fall out of cultivation or tilling merely from habit and acquired momentum. By November, 1921, it was clear that Russia was not an economic corpse, but a convalescent.

Beginnings of Recovery. [1922]

Relations with the rest of Europe had been opened by agreements with the border States. Early in 1921 a trade agreement had been signed with Great Britain, but the famine of the summer made any very large corn export, such as had been expected, impossible. In 1922 conferences at Genoa and at the Hague had seen the Russians affirm and reaffirm their decision that any settlement of the question of the Czarist debts must be inseparable from settlement of the question of Soviet credits. The result was a postponement of all consideration of these matters by the more important creditors, while Germany, signing the Rapallo Treaty, had wiped the old slate and started economic relations with the new Russia on the basis of an assumption that the old had never existed. Meanwhile, though the Communist became interestingly conscious of the need of foreign capital

for Russia's development, they set themselves to do all that could be done without it. By the autumn of 1922 they could point to the beginning of a new export trade in corn and to a comparatively stable bank- note, which was sooner or later to serve as a plank by which to escape from the quicksands of their inflated currency. A week before the celebration of that year the last Japanese troops had left Vladivostok Intervention had finally petered out.

[1923]

The celebration of 1923 took place. for the Communists in an atmosphere of suppressed excitement. Earlier in the year there had been a danger of rupture with England, but, in spite of the temporary set-back given to Anglo-Russian trade by the Curzon Note of May 8 and the uncertainty it caused. Russian exports were steadily increasing. Production was going up. They had almost succeeded in returning to a stable currency. Yet in November, 1923, there was a general feeling of uncertainty comparable only with that of the early years, and in particular with that of 1918. As in November, 1918, the Communists were expecting an immediate revolution in Berlin. But this time it did not promise them rescue from their own difficulties, but rather, though as revolutionaries they could but welcome it, a severe disruption of that program of economic recovery which they were now whole heartedly carrying out. The new economic policy was not yet so old as to assure private traders, for example, or the rank and file of the Communists that there could be no return to the restrictions of

the civil war. Lenin was ill. There was general anxiety as to what events in Germany might bring for Russia. If proof had been needed of the reality of the evolution that had been going on during the previous five years, a comparison of the attitude of the Communists towards expected revolution in Germany in 1918 and in 1923 would have been conclusive enough. Then they had thought of Europe in flames from one end to the other. Now they were seeking to ensure, by preliminary treaties with the intervening countries, that they would be able to send flour to Berlin without having to fight away for it. To the motive of world revolution had been added that of avoiding at all cost anything that should interrupt the progress of Russia's economic recovery.

New Dangers. [1924]

A year later, in 1924, Lenin was dead. He had died at a moment of fierce discussion in the party, but it had rapidly become clear that his death was not going to bring about any collapse of the regime he had done so much to found. He had been ill for so long that the regime was already well accustomed to carrying on without him. It had been a crowded year. The English Labor Government had recognized the Soviet Government; it had been followed by the Italian and by many others. There had been real hope that it would be possible to establish not "normal" but workable relations between a world frankly revolutionary and a world no less frankly opposed to revolution. Discussions in London had led to agreement, incomplete but promising, when, with the fall of the Labor Government, the work that had been done went for nothing. On November 4 Mr. MacDonald resigned. On November 7 the celebrants of the seventh anniversary of the Revolution knew that they could not hope to bring their negotiations to a successful conclusion with the Government that would succeed him.

Internal Disputes. [1925-1926]

In the new business atmosphere of Moscow some of the old revolutionaries had been for some time breathing with difficulty. They were finding it difficult to satisfy themselves with the thought that the economic recovery of Russia would be in itself a revolutionary challenge to the rest of the world. They were inclined to think that the measures taken to secure that recovery were such as to make it not worth securing from a revolutionary point of view. They had been pointing with dismay to the rapidly increasing influence of the richer

peasants and to the rapidity with which village society was stratifying. Now they were able to say that the revolution was not only being sacrificed in return for economic prosperity, but it was being sacrificed in vain. One by one the great names of 1917 and 1918 Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, even Preobrazhensky, part author of that ABC of Communism in which for the time novices in the party had been examined, fell into disrepute as they questioned too loudly the belief that all was going on for the best in the revolutionary world. The revolutionaries became divided into those who had consciously or unconsciously adapted themselves to new conditions and saw chiefly how much of the revolutionary aims was being attained in spite of the concessions made to economic progress, and those who saw chiefly at what cost in revolutionary ideals economic progress was being made. The celebrations of 1926 found these quarrels still proceeding though the worst dangers threatened the year before had been avoided and the opposition accordingly weakened.

The Soviet Union had been recognized by the whole of Europe and Asia, was losing rapidly the sense of imminent disaster, was taking part in diplomatic conferences with other nations, could point in many industries to production on the pre-war level, and was losing her Cinderella like appeal to the romantic in all countries.

Cinderella Shows Her Fist. [1927]

This year, however, the celebrations will once again have the defiant tone which year by year they had been losing. The process whereby it was becoming easier for the country the foreign trade of which is conducted by the State to do business with the countries the foreign trade of which is conducted by private persons has been interrupted. Anglo-Russian relations on which indirectly depend Russia's relations with many other countries, have been broken off altogether. When, at last, sufficient confidence had been induced in the trading integrity of the Soviet Union to make possible an English bank credit for Russian trade of some ten million pounds, the bulk of which was to have been spent in England, the British Government denounced the agreement of 1921 (on the ground that the Russians had not kept to the letter and spirit of that agreement) and invited the Soviet Government's representatives to leave the country, at the same time withdrawing our own mission from Moscow. This event will color the whole of this year's celebrations. Rightly or

wrongly, the Soviet Russians believe that this rupture is a step towards war, not now but a sometime in the future. This year's celebrations will be used to discredit the opposition in Russia by showing how many revolutionary aims have been attained in spite of the dull, prosaic business of economic recovery, and to make gestures of defiance towards the country which, just as its hostility served to keep alive revolutionary ardour in France for the eventual benefit of Napoleon, seems destined now to perform a similar service for Russia.

INTRODUCTION II,

ARTHUR RANSOME IN RUSSIA.

Arthur Ransome well known author of the Swallows and Amazons series from the late 1920's and 1930's was a witness to much of what was happening in Russia during the Revolution and the Civil War that followed. He was, in his earlier career, a literary critic and a political journalist; He was raised in an academic family in Leeds. His earlier writings ranged from children's fairy tales to literary critical works on Edgar Allan Poe and Oscar Wilde. He spent much of his early life in London and when not in London fished and sailed in the Lake District. There he met and engaged in friendly courtships with Dora and Barbara Collingwood (both of whom turned down his proposal of marriage). He married Ivy Walker and although they had a daughter Tabitha the marriage was increasingly troubled. At the same time Ransome's biography of Oscar Wilde led to a lawsuit in which he and others associated with its publication were charged with libel. Ransome was acquitted but was exhausted by the experience.

Ransome's early interest in children's folk tales resulted in a greater interest in Russian folk-tales.

The need to find more original material especially in Russian, exhausted by the trial and the virtual collapse of his marriage led to his decision to travel to Russia. So in May 1913, he wrote his mother saying that he was about to take a short vacation in Stockholm which soon became his entry port for Russia.

For the next five years Ransome lived in Petrograd with short trips to Terioki in neighboring Finland, Dorpat in the Baltic Provinces and Vergezha in northwestern Russia for purposes of relaxation usually involving fishing. He was briefly in Moscow in early 1916. During that same period of time (1913-early 1917) he made five trips to England.

In his early years he busied himself by translating fairytales, learning the Russian language and writing short pieces for the New York World and the Century. He was not introduced to journalism until 1915 when he telegraphed Harold Williams's reports to the London Daily Chronicle sometimes writing them himself. When the Daily News correspondent Frederick Renner in Petrograd became ill his reports were initially written by Williams but when Williams became exhausted the task was turned over to Ransome who

continued to send dispatches to London under Renner's name. Ransome's first article with his by-line was written on November 13, 1915. . When Renner could not return to work, Ransome was offered the position – thus becoming a journalist with his own by-line.

Ransome's dispatches for the remainder of 1915 and throughout 1916 dealt primarily with the events of the war rather than political matters in Petrograd. Very shortly thereafter his articles also appeared in the [London] Star which was a sister newspaper to the Daily News. His articles dealt with military developments in the Baltic region, southern Russia and adjacent border areas and in particular the Russian – Austrian front. His reviews to the Morning Post and the Outlook marked his entrance into political journalism. In his diary he reports several articles with a political content were sent (but not published) to the Daily News in February 1917. (Hammond p. 245 and Autobiography p. 216). However, by January – February 1917 Ransome's articles dealing with political developments began to appear in the Star and the Daily News. From that point on his major interest was in political developments in Russia. What attention he gave to military developments were almost always related to political developments.

What were Ransome's political views? There is no evidence that he was interested in politics prior to his arrival in Russia. In his youth he had been attracted to the utopian schemes of William Morse but was not attracted to utopianism. He had not joined the Labour Party and had not participated in political activism in England. Some members of the British government and the press labeled him as a Bolshevik. Karl Radek described Ransome as “a man who came to Russia without any political convictions and who was sent, as a well known writer, in order that he might in vivid pictures acquaint the English reader with the conditions of affairs on the Russian front...[He] was more interested in ethical and philosophical questions....” Ransome's support for the Bolsheviks and the Soviet form of government appears to have been the result of his belief that the Bolsheviks were the only party in Russia with viable solutions to the problems. Indeed, when in the long run the Bolsheviks failed to solve these problems Ransome became disillusioned with them. He was a pragmatist rather than an ideologue.

1917.

A major but not the only focus of Ransome's concern was the way in which the revolutionary events and political changes would affect Russo-British relations in so far as they *related to the World War*.

His early dispatches in 1917 dealt in some detail with the coming of the February Revolution, the February Revolution, the abdication of Nicholas II and the formation of a new government, the formation of the Council of Workers and Soldiers (the Petrograd Soviet), the formation of a coalition government and the food shortage in the cities. He also dealt with the return of Lenin and the questions related to land reform, the military situation and the dissolution of the Duma. (February 13,ff; March 17,ff;April 2 ff; May 11ff.)

Ransome recognized by the end of March 1917 the growing power and importance of the Extremists (Bolsheviks) The Bolshevik war aims were however different from those of the Provisional Government and the parties that supported it. By May, Ransome supported Kerensky's program which called for a coalition government and a general peace. Ransome's move to the left in his reports was most noticeable by June 1917 when he believed it was only a matter of time before the Extremists would take control of the government. This view was strengthened in the summer of 1917 as a result of the growing popularity of the Bolsheviks because of their role in the July Days demonstrations, the Kornilov Affair and their successes in local elections He discussed at some length the dispute over a coalition versus a non-coalition government and the conferences formed to attempt to unify the various democratic parties (March 21ff, July 23ff, September 24ff, August 5, 24,30ff; October 8)

But failing health and the need for a vacation led to his return to England in October 1917. As a result he missed the events which John Reed called "the ten days that shook the world." He wrote four articles for the Daily News while he was in England. These articles dealt with the German threat to Petrograd and the growing food shortage which became one of the major issues discussed in his dispatches. (November 9, 12, 20)

After further delay in England and then Sweden due to passport and visa problems, he was able at last to return to Petrograd by Christmas day 1917. By December 31 he sent his first report (after returning) to the Daily News. By January 5, 1918 he sent his first report to the New York Times.

1917/1918.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE OF BREST LITOVSK.

Ransome was in Petrograd and Moscow until August 1918. The remainder of the year he was in Stockholm.

The major problem confronting the new government after the October Revolution was to solidify power and expand its power across Russia. Basic to this was the ending of the war. Trotsky, in particular believed that the successful social revolution in Russia would touch off social revolutions in other belligerent countries—in particular Germany. On November 22, 1917 the Bolsheviks sent a Peace Decree to the Allied governments which called for a three month armistice. The Decree was rejected by the Allies. Russia then opened negotiations with the Central Powers.

A week later on December 22, 1917 peace negotiations began with the Central Powers. The Bolsheviks believed that a successful revolution in Russia would set off revolutions in other countries and such revolutions would force the belligerent countries to sue for peace. What the Bolsheviks also wanted was immediate peace so that they could consolidate the victories of their own revolution. By late December 1917 it became apparent to the Bolsheviks that no revolution would take place in Germany. It also became apparent to the Germans that the Bolsheviks wanted an immediate peace the terms of which they could take advantage of. It became increasingly apparent that Russia would have to accept the peace terms dictated to them. Very early in the negotiations differences developed between the two sides over the issue of the independence of Poland and Lithuania and the issue of the right of self-government for nations. The central question here was the issue of German “imperialism” versus Russia’s “self-determination” for the subject states. In late December 1917 the Central Powers issued a declaration stating they favored a separate peace with all the Allies without indemnities and without annexations provided the peace was immediate and all the belligerents took part in the negotiations. Lenin was in favor of signing an agreement immediately, although he was opposed by a majority of the Bolshevik Central Committee led by Nikola Bukharin and Karl Radek. (December 31, 1917.)

1918.

TREATY OF BREST-LITVOSK.

Arthur Ransome in his dispatch to the Daily News for January 1, 1918 wrote the following: "I wonder whether the English people realize how great is the matter now at stake and how near we are to producing a separate peace between Russia and Germany, which would be a defeat for German democracy in its own country, besides ensuring the practical enslavement of all Russia."

On January 8, 1918 Woodrow Wilson delivered his "Fourteen Points" speech. It called for the evacuation of all Russian territory; to welcome Russia into the free nations of the world under institutions of her own choosing; to provide assistance if desired. (January 4ff) Paralleling this, Arthur Ransome reported to the Daily News that he believed it would be in England's interest to broker a peace between the European powers. Ransome argued that the Allies should provide support for the Bolsheviks against a Central Powers takeover of Russia. While many in England distrusted Ransome because of his pro-Bolshevik views, Prime Minister Lloyd George sent Bruce Lockhart back to Russia to see whether some kind of cooperation would be possible. Lockhart along with Ransome in January 1918 met with Karl Radek. The Bolsheviks also considered sending their representative to England to discuss cooperation. They discussed the matter with Trotsky who was sympathetic to the idea but it was rejected by Lenin. The possibility of cooperation completely ended when Trotsky withdrew from the peace conference with his "no war – no peace" policy and the Germans terminated the armistice and launched a further attack on Russia. (January and February ff, April 4 & 5)

On February 18, 1918 when the Central Powers repudiated the armistice they occupied the Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic countries. (January 19ff) Petrograd was in danger of being seized by the advancing German forces. As a result the foreign embassies in Petrograd were moved temporarily to Vologda and the Bolsheviks later moved the capital from Petrograd to Moscow. (March 16, 1918ff) While German forces were advancing on Petrograd, the Central Powers issued new peace terms which included the annexation of territories to the Central Powers and the complete demobilization of the Russian army. Lenin persuaded the Central Committee to agree to these terms. (February 22ff, 27)

On March 3, 1918 the Bolshevik representatives signed a peace agreement with the Central Powers. Thus, Russia officially withdrew from the World War.

The terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk were severe. The Bolshevik government renounced all territorial claims to Finland, the Baltic States, Belarus and the Ukraine. Lands captured from the Ottoman Empire in the Russo-Turkish Wars were returned to Turkey. Armenian rights were guaranteed. In a separate agreement signed August 27, 1918. Russia agreed to pay compensation for losses to Germany. The Bolsheviks believed this would only be a temporary peace and that war would be resumed. They prepared for it by developing a "new army." The foreign embassies were moved from Petrograd to Vologda and the capital was moved from Petrograd to Moscow. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk lasted only eight months. The November 11, 1918 Armistice abrogated the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Following the German capitulation, the Bolshevik government annulled the treaty on November 13, 1918. (March 8 & 9ff, 18, 20ff 1918.)

From the late winter of 1918 until the summer Ransome dealt with a wide variety of problems. In general the focus of his dispatches shifted from political matters in Petrograd to developments in the border states and to anti-Bolshevik movements in Russia and elsewhere.

The long anticipated Constituent Assembly met on January 18 and was immediately dissolved by the Bolshevik Government. Japanese intervention. Czech revolt. Anti-Bolshevik movements in Ukraine, Finland, Siberia, Caucasus. Anti-German feeling and revolt in the Ukraine. Kerensky formed a new government. He served as Prime Minister as well as Minister of War and Marine and Acting Minister for the Interior. The major concern was whether the peace with Germany was permanent or only temporary. Russia began to build a new army based on voluntary recruits. Russia adopted the Western calendar. (Feb. 18)..

The Bolshevik's moved the capital from Petrograd to Moscow. April 4. Evaluation of Russia's resources April 4f. Russia sought outside recognition and help. Japanese landing at Vladivostok March 14ff (Mar.Ap.May). Growing strength of Soviet Government against counter-revolutionary movements. German coup in Ukraine. Role of the Rada May 6ff. May 20f. Czech rebellion. Anti-Soviet movements in Siberia and the Caucasus. May 25, June 16 ff. Czechs and the formation of the anti-Bolshevik government (Komuch) in Samara. Ukrainian revolution. June 26 ff.

Ransom's last dispatch from Moscow was in July. A Moscow dispatch dated July 30 was sent from Stockholm on August 6. Dispatches to the New York

Times were sent from London by the Daily News until they were terminated at the end of August. All remaining dispatches for 1918 were sent from Stockholm.

A number of factors led Ransome to leave Russia for Stockholm. The Allied landings at Murmansk resulting in the cutting off of telegraph links between Russia and England, the assassination of Count Mirbach, Ransome's and Evgenia's own endangerment, and the decision of both to leave Russia. Unable to return to England with Evgenia because of his marriage status they decided to go to Stockholm provided they could get Evgenia out of Russia. The problem was resolved when Vatslav Vorovsky the Soviet minister to Sweden took Evgenia on as his secretary. Ransom himself traveled separately as a Soviet courier arriving in Stockholm on August 5 and joining Evgenia there. (Brogan p.200ff. Chambers p.230ff. Ransome, Autobiography, p. 259=264.)

Ransome's dispatches from Stockholm for the remainder of 1918 dealt primarily with the civil war (he does not use this term) in the western border states of the Ukraine, Finland, Belarus and the Baltic States in the form of pro-Bolshevik anti-Bolshevik struggles and conflicts. He deals with anti-Bolshevik activity in Russia and pro-Bolshevik activity in Germany. Political developments in Moscow are only briefly referred to. (July 30, 1918ff)

In late 1918 the Bolshevik legation in Stockholm was ordered expelled. Ransome was included with other members of the legation. They left Stockholm for Moscow in late January 1919. Ransome's last dispatch from Stockholm was dated January 11, 1919 and dealt with the problems of intervention and anti-Bolshevik groups as well as the growing food shortage in Russia. In March Ransome left for England joining the American Bullitt and Steffens team after a brief visit to Moscow. Arriving in England he was waylaid by British authorities briefly. While in England he wrote Six Weeks In Russia in 1919 which was published in June 1919. He also wrote for the Daily News three lengthy dispatches published in late April, early May on the social, political and economic conditions in Russia. Fees for the last articles written for the Daily News as the policy of the changed to one of support for intervention He also wrote the three articles for the New Statesman at this time.

In part because of Six Weeks In Russia in 1919 C. P. Scott editor of the Manchester Guardian offered Ransome a job as their correspondent in Russia in September 1919. He left England via a steamer to Bergen Norway then by train on to Christiania, then to Stockholm in early October, then to Reval in

Estonia and then after considerable difficulty on to Moscow and after again difficulties he and Evgenia returned to Reval arriving there in November. From this point on Ransome lived in Estonia and then Latvia while making frequent trips to Russia. His first dispatch for the Manchester Guardian was written from Reval and appeared on November 26. The initial dispatches published in the Manchester Guardian dealt with the Estonian-Russian negotiations at the Dorpat Conference.

BORDER STATES. MOVEMENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Ukraine

Following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 many of the border-states with non-Russian populations sought either more autonomy or independence. These included the Ukraine, Finland, Poland, the Baltic States, parts of the Volga Region, the Ural Region, Siberia and The Far East. Ransome focuses almost entirely on the first four in his dispatches covering movements for independence.

The Ukrainian War of Independence lasted from 1917 to 1921. At the beginning of this period, the Ukrainian territory consisted of three states – the Central Ukraine, a part of the Russian Empire, the Western Ukraine a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Socialist Republic of Ukraine which was a short lived Republic in 1917 – 1918 located along the Russian-Central Ukraine border. During 1917 to 1921 these Ukrainian states were besieged by war and conflict. In those military conflicts a number of border countries especially Bolshevik Russia, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Poland intervened into Ukrainian affairs often leading to internal conflicts and changes in government.

In March 1917 the Ukrainian Peoples Republic was set up in Keiv governed by the Central Rada (Council). For the remainder of 1917 the Central Ukraine moved towards independence leading to the removal of Russian Imperial forces in November 1917 and the declaration of independence in January 1918 when it became the Ukrainian National Republic.

The Western Ukrainian lands were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Ukrainian National Rada formed in Lviv in October 1918 and declared a

Ukrainian state over the territory of Galicia and neighboring territories. On November 9, 1918 the National Rada established the Western Ukrainian National Republic and formed a government. The two Ukrainians signed the Treaty of Brest –Litovsk and the German and Austrian troops were withdrawn. On January 22, 1919 the two Ukrainians were united. The Western Ukraine became the Western Province of the Ukrainian National Republic.

In 1918 what became the Ukrainian National Republic underwent many changes. With the Rada taking over the government the Bolsheviks set up a rival state named the Socialist Republic of Ukraine with its capital at Kharkov. Conflict developed. In February 1918 the Bolsheviks overran the UNR and seized control of Kiev. The Rada turned to the Central Powers and with their aid the Bolsheviks were driven out of Kiev and a pro–German government (the Hetmanate) was established but was overthrown in November 1918 when the Armistice was signed and a Socialist Directorate government was established. Then in February 1919 this government was overthrown by the Bolshevik Red Army and a pro- Soviet government was established. A White Russian offensive overran the central and eastern parts of the Ukraine. By early 1920 the Bolsheviks had regained control of the central and eastern parts. Facing defeat the ousted government formed an alliance with Poland. A Red Army counter-offensive drove the Polish armies back. Due to economic condition and the need for food Russia formed an alliance with Poland. This ended the Polish – Ukrainian alliance and the Russians allowed Poland to take over Galicia and what had been Western Ukraine. Poland meanwhile recognized Ukraine as a part of Bolshevik Russia. In 1922 the Soviet Socialist Republic was created and the Ukraine was incorporated into that new entity.

[January 11, 1918.

January 11, April 26, 1919.

January 20, March 16, May 20, August 23, 1920.

March 17, July 22, August 19, 1921]

Finland

Prior to the Revolution of 1917 Finland was a Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire. In July 1917 the Finnish Parliament issued a law establishing semi independence with in the Russian Provisional Government continuing to handle foreign and military affairs. The Provisional Government with the support of the Finnish middle-class disbanded the new Parliament. In the new election the Finish middle-class was victorious but led to conflicts between the socialist and the middle-class thus polarizing the political situation in

Finland. Following the October Revolution the Finnish workers declared a general strike and the Finnish Red Guard clashed with the White Guard. The middle class government attempted to move towards complete independence but the socialist oppose such a move. But in December 1917 the Finnish Parliament declared Finland independent and on December 31 the Bolshevik government granted independence. Clashes continued between the Guards leading up to open warfare. The Red Guard seized control of Helsinki in late January 1918. The Reds set up a revolutionary government while the Whites created a white Senate in their capital Vaasa. The Reds controlled southern Finland while the Whites controlled the North. The Red Guard had the initial advantage but with a better trained army and the support of the Germans the White Army was able to recover control of the South and a White victory was declared on May 16, 1918 although no official peace treaty was signed.

The Vaasa Senate returned to Helsinki in May 1918 but the capital was under control of the German army. Conservatives favored the establishment of a monarchist government while the Liberals supported the establishment of a parliamentary government. In May 1918 a conservative monarchist Senate was formed. German troops remained in Finland. In October 1918 the Finnish government elected a German Prince – the brother in law of the German Emperor – to become King of Finland. But with the signing of the Armistice German troops left Helsinki and the elected King did not take up his position. A new constitution was conferred in July 1919. This established a parliamentary government. A Finnish – Russian Treaty (Treaty of Tarta) was signed in October 1920 which stabilized relations between the two countries.]January 11, 31, February 28, March 18, March 27 to November 7, 1918.]

Poland

Poland had been divided by three partitions in the 18th century and controlled by Russia, Prussia and Austria – Hungary. This division remained until the early 20th century. In 1915 the Russian Imperial government adopted a more liberal policy towards Poland's Catholics and political leadership. In 1916 the Russian government promised a separate Polish Council of Ministers and a two house legislative body. Separately Austria – Hungary and Germany agreed to the formation of a semi-autonomous Kingdom of Poland. Then in March 1917 the Provisional Government promised Poland independence. In 1918 Woodrow Wilson in his Fourteen Points speech included the creation of an independent Poland. In October 1918 the government in Warsaw declared independence and following the Armistice the three Poland's were united.

Poland established a Western-style parliamentary government and chose Joseph Pilsudski as the new head of state. Pilsudski wanted to restore Poland to its pre- 1772 boundaries. A Western boundary was established but the eastern boundary with Russia was not. To accomplish this goal Pilsudski promised to establish an Eastern European Federation which would provide for Polish domination over neighboring states. Russia as well as the Western Allies opposed the plan. Lord Curzon, British Foreign Minister, proposed a truce and borders along ethnic lines. This is known as the Curzon Line. It was rejected. Russia proposed negotiations with Poland. In April 1920 Poland launched an attack on the Ukraine. In the following months a Red counter – offensive pushed back the Poles. In July 1920 the Red Army crossed into Poland and reached the outskirts of Warsaw in early August. The Western Allies became increasingly concerned over the possibility of Russia establishing a Bolshevik government in Poland. A French military mission was sent and the commanding general advised the Polish Army on strategy. The battle for Warsaw took place in August 1920. Pilsudski was able to launch a successful counter – attack which forced the Russians to retreat. An armistice was signed in October 1920. In August 1920 Ransome traveled from Reval to Minsk to cover the armistice/peace negotiations between Russia and Poland. Both Trotsky and Lenin had discussed the Polish situation with him while in Moscow earlier in the year. The negotiations came to an end when Polish counter-revolutionaries drove the Red Army out of Poland. Peace between the two countries would not be concluded until March 1921 the Treaty of Riga signed in March 1921 provided for the bulk of the Ukraine to remain a Soviet republic while portions of The Belarus and Ukraine were ceded to Poland. [January 2, 4, 9, 14 to July 8, 1918. November 26, 1919,] [January 20 to August 25, 1920.] [July 13 to October 11, 1921]

The Baltic States.

Of the three Baltic States Estonia was the first to achieve independence. Estonian – Russian negotiations at the Dorpat Conference resulted in an armistice in late 1919 and a formal treaty in February 1920 which gave Estonia its independence (Treaty of Tartu). Ransome was present at these negotiations and discussed them in some detail in his dispatch for February 6, 1920. While negotiations between Russia and Estonia were in progress the other Baltic States met in Helsingfors at the Baltic Conference in late January 1920. The delegates were divided over the question of peace or war with Soviet Russia. The conference concluded with no major decisions. Future

conferences between Russia and the remaining Baltic States in 1920 – 1921 led to treaties of independence for them. Latvia and Russia reached an agreement at the Treaty of Riga in August 1920 in which Russia recognized Latvian independence. Russia recognized Lithuania's sovereignty in July 1920 and independence was recognized in the Moscow Peace Treaty of October 1920. With the exception of the Dorpat Conference Ransome gives little attention to the other independence agreements. [Without reference to specific countries. November 7, 1918, December 11, 1919, January 27, 1920. Treaty between Estonia and Russia see 1920 dispatches]

1918-1919.

CIVIL WAR AND INTERVENTION.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk marked a major turning point for the Western powers as well as Russia. Two major developments flowed from its conclusion in early 1918. First, a civil war was mounted by those opposed to the Bolshevik regime by “White Russians”. Secondly, the question of Western intervention into Russia whether to prevent military supplies shipped to Russia during the World War from falling into the hands of the Germans or to topple the Bolshevik government and replace it with a pro-Western type of government became a central issue.

While Ransome in the early half of 1918 dealt primarily with the peace treaty, intervention and civil war he at times reported on political and internal matters facing Russia. These included the meeting and dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in January, the growing power of the Soviets, the threat of renewed war by Germany and the raising of a new army by the Bolsheviks and the wealth of natural resources in Russia.

Opposition to the Bolshevik regime began soon after the Bolsheviks seized power in the October Revolution. Organized opposition groups began to emerge consisting of non-Bolshevik Russian party politicians, former officers of the Czar's army and the Provisional Government, and borderland nationalist seeking independence or autonomy for minority peoples. The “White Army” or “White Movement” was loosely organized under the command of General Yudenich (northwest Russia and the Baltic Countries), Admiral Kolchak

(Siberia), General Kornilov (Rostov and Don Region), General Deniken (Caucasus and Don Region) and General Wrangel (Crimea). At one time or another significant parts of the former Russian Empire were controlled by the Whites. These included the Ukraine, the Volga Region, the Ural Region, Siberia and the Far East. (Japan March 14, 20-25, April 2ff, May 2 & 3ff; Ukraine May 6ff; Finland April 19ff. All 1918.)

A separate matter was the role of the Czech Brigade. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk insured that prisoners of war would be transferred to and from each country. Czech prisoners of war recruited to fight with the Austro-Hungarian army and captured by the Russians were organized into the Czech Brigade to fight the Central Powers in 1917. With the ending of the war, the Czech Brigade was guaranteed safe passage by the Bolsheviks out of Russia by way of Siberia and Vladivostock. As they were moving eastward along the Trans-Siberian Railroad an incident occurred which led to the disarming of the Czech Brigade by the Soviet government. This in turn resulted in the dispersion of the legionnaires along the Trans-Siberian Railway line, conflict between the legionnaires and the Bolsheviks and the seizure of parts of the railway and crucial centers by the legionnaires. (August 22, 1918)

In addition borderland nationalist launched movements for local autonomy and independence in Finland, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. In each case they organized armies which became involved in offensive action following the abolition of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The Whites and the Soviets were involved in hostilities in three main areas – the eastern, southern and the northwestern. From the October Revolution until late 1918 the major theaters of action were in the Don Region, the areas in central Russia occupied by the Czech Brigade, Poland, Latvia and the Crimea. Fighting in these areas was largely sporadic. (September 12, 1918)

During 1919 the White armies were able to launch major offensives in all regions advancing on both Moscow and Petrograd. But by the end of the year a rebuilt Russian (Red) Army was able to launch offensives against the White forces. The last phase of the Civil War in 1920 was largely confined to the Crimea and the Ukraine. A Red Army offensive succeeded in driving the White forces out of the region. They were finally evacuated to Constantinople.

INTERVENTION.

The issue of intervention was related to three problems which emerged following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk .The British and French governments decided on military intervention in order to:

- (1) Prevent the Germans or the Bolsheviks from seizing military supplies sent to Russia during World War I and housed in various Russian ports; (2) to provide support for the Czech Brigade stranded along the Trans-Siberian Railway: (3) to resurrect the Eastern Front in order to defeat the Bolsheviks by using White and Czech military forces.**

Both England and France committed to fighting on the Western Front were short of troops for such a campaign. They appealed to the United States for military support. Only after considerable opposition and delays, the United States committed 5,000 troops to the Archangel-Murmansk and Vladivostok fronts. Initially they were to be used only to remove military supplies from these regions rather than combat. Other countries which became involved in intervention were Japan, Italy, Romania, Greece, Poland, China and Serbia. Foreign forces were involved in combat in Northern Russia (mainly the Archangel-Murmansk region), North Western Russia (Baltic), Odessa-Ukraine-Southern Russia, Siberia, the Caucasus and the Trans-Caspian Region.

Intervention in Northern Russia became a major problem after the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. With the Bolshevik seizure of power in the October Revolution, the Allies became interested in Archangel as an exit point for Europeans in Russia and for the removal of large supplies of war materials which had been shipped through Archangel to the previous governments. After consolidating their powers in Petrograd, the Bolsheviks turned their attention to Archangel and the removal of Allied military stores. Due to the fact that the port of Archangel was frozen over until June, the Allies had no access to it. The Bolsheviks were able to consolidate their control over it for the next six months. Not able to gain access to Archangel, the Allies greatly expanded the new port of Murmansk founded in 1916 very near the Finnish border. It was ice free much of the year. Murmansk became the new port of entry and exit for the Allies. (April 9 &10,1918ff)

In February 1918 Germany resumed its offensive against the Bolsheviks. They also increased their military presence in Finland. This led to growing Allied concerns. The British increased their naval force and requested naval support from France and the United States.

In early March 1918 Finnish Reds suffering from scurvy and malnutrition sought refuge and food along the Murmansk Railway line. Finnish White forces attacked them. It was the belief in Murmansk that this was only a prelude to a German attack on Murmansk. To prevent a possible German-White Finnish attack, a train fitted out with heavy artillery and manned by British and French soldiers was sent to a neighboring area where it served as a deterrent to further military action. The escalation of hostilities led to political as well as military changes in the region.

The escalation of hostilities in this area led foreign governments to reconsider their policy. The British after much discussion organized and launched a small expeditionary force. Plans were made but not implemented to bring in troops from the Czech Brigade into North Russia. The British government continued to press Washington to agree in principle to support action to keep the port of Murmansk out of German hands.

Two issues became the focus for Allied leaders in June 1918. They were: (1) the need to hold Murmansk against a growing German-Finnish threat and to hold the German forces in Finland and (2) the establishment of a base in Archangel (now almost ice free) manned by White Russian forces and Czechs from the Czech Brigade in order to launch operations in Siberia. This twofold objective was the primary plan of the British and the Supreme War Council in Paris (an Allied body of permanent military representatives dominated by the British). The Americans had not agreed to this approach and in particular were opposed to interconnecting the North Russian problems to the Siberian problem. The need to keep control over these two regions in North Russia led to a request for more military forces especially American military forces. Washington replied that the increase of troops to North Russia would have an adverse effect on the Western Front.

The Supreme War Council met on July 2nd when it approved a plan for intervention in North Russia and Siberia. They appealed to President Wilson to support a policy of intervention. Wilson's position was set forth in a

memorandum on July 5th. This was formalized in the aide-memoire presented on July 17th. Wilson opposed military intervention for the purpose of restoring an eastern front. American forces could only be used to guard military stores in North Russia, to protect Czech Brigade soldiers in Siberia and to aid White Russians attempting to regain control of their affairs. As a result of the formal request from the Supreme War Council, but with opposition from his own advisers, Wilson authorized three battalions of infantry and three companies of engineers to participate in the Murmansk Expeditionary Force.

A build-up of Allied military forces was now completed with the arrival in late July of a French infantry battalion. On July 31 a force of 1500 men and a number of ships left Murmansk for Archangel. Although there was some Bolshevik resistance, the Bolshevik force evacuated the city surrendering it to White Russian and Allied forces. The Allied flotilla contained a small number of marines from the American battleship Olympia who landed and became involved in combat. An American force some 5000 strong which Wilson had promised the Supreme War Council arrived in Murmansk at the end of July. Three battalions were sent on to Archangel to provide reinforcements for the already landed forces. By September 4th, 4500 Americans landed in Archangel; from there they were dispersed into combat areas in the interior of North Russia.

On August 4th news of the Allied landing in Archangel spread through Moscow. The Bolshevik government assumed that the Allies planned to march on Moscow. On August 5th the British and French nationals were arrested. Dewitt Poole, the American Consular in Moscow, turned his embassy quarters over to the Swedes and then asked for safe conduct for himself and other Americans to Finland. Junior embassy officials that had remained in Vologda after Francis' departure on July 23rd were arrested and transported to Moscow. It was not until August 26th that the ninety-five Americans in Moscow were placed on a train to Finland. Some Americans primarily associated with the Red Cross remained in Moscow.

Whereas the British and the French were held responsible for interventionism, the Americans were described as "compelled by its Allies to participate in intervention." As a result of the actions of Cheka, all Allied officials with the exception of Americans were arrested on September 6th. By September 17th

however, news of further American intervention reached Moscow resulting in the arrest of Americans.

By February 1919, there was growing criticism of United States involvement in North Russia. Congressional support for withdrawal grew. Wilson ordered the withdrawal of American troops from North Russia in June 1919. All American forces were withdrawn finally in 1920. Intervention forces from other countries (except Japan) were also withdrawn by 1920. [Murmansk and Archangel. April 2, 3, 9, August 26, 27, 30, 31, September 29, 1918]

The other major area where intervention took place was the Far East. Japan as a result of a treaty with Britain declared war on Germany on August 23, 1914. Japan was a member of the Entente. Throughout World War I, the French had supported the use of Japanese troops on either the western or the eastern front against Germany. With Russia's withdrawal from the war, the French supported Japanese intervention in the Far East. The outbreak of civil war in Russia opened up the possibility of expansion into Siberia and the establishment of a buffer state between Japan and European Russia. American interest in the Far East centered around two matters—the presence of large numbers of Russian prisoners of war and Czech soldiers trapped in areas along the Trans-Siberian Railway and military supplies shipped by the United States to Russia through Vladivostok [Vladivostok, March 22, 25,. April 9, 10, 11, 22. May 2, 3, 24, 25, 26. June 14, 15, 28, All 1918]

By late 1917 Vladivostok experienced unrest in part as a result of growing radicalism within the populace and in part due to the presence of Japanese and then American war vessels in the harbor. Allied leaders in December 1917 proposed the possibility of intervention into Siberia through Vladivostok in order to protect the Trans-Siberian Railway from a German take-over and to insure the flow of supplies to White Russian dissidents in the interior. While the United States opposed the idea, they did not rule out further consideration of the matter. The British and the French favored intervention into Siberia headed by a Japanese landing in Vladivostok. The Japanese expressed reluctance to move without a clear understanding of the intention of the American government.

By early February 1918, the British proposed that the Japanese be sent into Siberia to take over the Trans-Siberian railroad in order that the Allies have

access to anti-Bolshevik groups operating in South Russia. When Wilson was consulted on the British plan, he rejected it arguing that change in Russia should occur without foreign intervention and that if intervention must take place, it should be an international not a unilateral operation. Furthermore, the United States thought that intervention would antagonize the Russian people and might lead to a Russian-German alliance. The Americans also believed that if the war was to be won it had to be won on the Western Front and that diverting forces from the Western Front was unwise.

In early March the United States while continuing to oppose intervention modified its policy on Japanese intervention. It agreed to the following: (1) that Japan could reserve to itself the right to take independent action and (2) that abstention from major action should not preclude the right of the Japanese to prepare itself for future action if such should become necessary. Thus, if Japan acted there would be no protest. The United States government went on to declare that since Japan had freedom of action in dealing with her own interests, those interests should be well defined for the Entente Powers and that intervention must be done at her own expense without aid from the United States. Meanwhile, tensions were developing in Vladivostok. The Allies increased their naval presence in the harbor. The Bolsheviks seized control of the postal and telegraph system. On April 4, 1918 armed men dressed in Russian uniforms shot and killed four Japanese shop keepers. In response the Japanese landed a force in Vladivostok on April 5th. This was followed by a small British landing. The United States did not oppose this action but decided not to follow. The local population resented the presence of Allied troops in their city. The local Bolshevik leaders in Vladivostok did not challenge their presence but the Bolshevik government in Moscow saw it as an act of aggression.

[Japan, March 14, 15, 18, 20, 25, 27, 28. April 8, 9, 10, May 2. June 28, All 1918.]

Thereafter, the question of intervention was tied to the issue of the Czech problem in Siberia. The Czech uprising changed things significantly. With the Czech uprising in Siberia some Allied leaders believed that the Czech Brigade and the White Russian forces would be able to overthrow the Bolshevik government. An anti-Bolshevik government was established in Samara (Komuch). Others believed that some form of military intervention might be necessary to support this movement. At the end of May 1918 the French and British had preliminary discussions on the question of intervention. The Supreme War Council recommended that parts of the Czech Brigade be detained and sent to Murmansk and Archangel whereas the remainder would be evacuated and sent to the Western Front. The detained Czech brigade

members would be joined by forces from England, France, Italy and the United States.[Czech Forces, August 3, 1918, April 26, 1919.]

By late June Czech forces in western Siberia had been cut off by Soviet forces thus making passage to Vladivostok impossible. Meanwhile, Czech forces that had reached Vladivostok earlier were called upon to mount an operation so as to free their comrades in western Siberia. This movement was supported by the Allies. Growing tensions between the local Soviet and the Vladivostok Czechs and the decision of the latter to aid their companions resulted in a Czech seizure of Vladivostok on June 29, 1918. This was followed immediately by the landing of British and Japanese forces to support the Czech action. The Supreme War Council in Paris drew up a plan for Allied intervention into Siberia which would include a relief expedition under American control. After considerable discussions President Wilson approved American intervention on July 6, 1918. A contingent of American and Japanese forces would enter Siberia to facilitate the joining of the Czech forces in Vladivostok and those in western Siberia. Secondly, the United States would also provide economic aid. By early August American troops were dispatched from the Philippines to Vladivostok. (May 25, June 16ff)

By early 1919 the Czech forces, no longer interested in fighting in Russia and wanting to return to their newly established country, spent most of 1919 moving their forces to Vladivostok where they were evacuated to Europe. By April 1920 this was completed and with that accomplished the American troops withdrew from Vladivostok. The Japanese planning to occupy parts of eastern Siberia were pushed back by the Red Army in 1920 and 1921. The Bolshevik government supported the creation of a nominally independent state in the Russian Far East in April 1920. It was called the Far Eastern Republic. This was to be a buffer state between the Japanese controlled Vladivostok and Asiatic Russia. With the withdrawal of the Japanese from Vladivostok, Vladivostok joined the Far Eastern Republic. The Far Eastern Republic was merged with Soviet Russia in November 1922. Remaining territories held by the Japanese were returned to Russia in 1923 and 1925.

Arthur Ransome was a major critic of the policy of intervention as well as the blockade and economic warfare (see next section). His dispatches dealt with his position on this matter in some detail. Since the outbreak of the revolution in March 1917 Ransome had supported developments in Russia because he believed that Russia was England's greatest ally in the struggle against German Prussianism. If intervention was to take place, it should be to help the Russians defeat the Germans not to remove the Bolsheviks from power. Thus

when the British government landed marines in Murmansk and Vladivostok, Ransome opposed these operations. Intervention was a mistake. The correct policy should be: "(1) to recognize the Soviets as the natural authority of Russia; (2) to supply them with arms and withdraw intervention forces; (3) for England and America to cooperate in dealing with the Soviets; (4) "to watch the fireworks."

In a dispatch from Stockholm he wrote: "The Soviet Government is certainly weaker than it was owing partly to lack of food, partly to the moral effect and allied action in the North and the promise of intervention in Siberia which will destroy the main hopes of the Soviet leaders, who looked to Siberia for coal with which temporarily to replace the supplies from the Donetz Basin, and for gold and other minerals with which to enter into economic relations with the outer world. Even so the Soviet remains the only organized and organizing force within the country." (August 17, 1918ff). It was also at this general period of time that he wrote and published his Letter to America with a major section on the issue of intervention and the blockade.

Ransom's last dispatch from Moscow was on July 8, 1918. A Moscow dispatch dated July 30 was sent via Stockholm on August 6. Dispatches to the New York Times were sent from London by the Daily News until they were terminated by the end of August. All remaining dispatches for 1918 were sent from Stockholm.

A number of factors led Ransome to leave Russia for Stockholm. The Allied landings at Murmansk resulting in the cutting off of telegraph links between Russia and England, the assassination of Count Mirbach, Ransome's and Evgenia's own endangerment, and the decision of both to leave Russia. Unable to return to England with Evgenia because of his marriage status they decided to go to Stockholm provided they could get Evgenia out of Russia. The problem was resolved when Vatslav Vorovsky the Soviet minister to Sweden took Evgenia on as his secretary. Ransome himself traveled separately as a Soviet courier arriving in Stockholm on August 5 and joining Evgenia there. (Brogan p.200ff. Chambers p.230ff. Ransome, Autobiography, p. 259=264.)

Ransome's dispatches from Stockholm for the remainder of 1918 dealt primarily with the civil war (he does not use this term) in the western border states of the Ukraine, Finland, Belarus and the Baltic States in the form of pro-

Bolshevik anti-Bolshevik struggles and conflicts. He dealt with anti-Bolshevik activity in Russia and pro-Bolshevik activity in Germany. Political developments in Moscow are only briefly referred to.

In late 1918 Ransome became a party to the proposed Soviet-British negotiations. The Bolshevik government launched a “peace offensive” with England. Maxim Litvinov arrived in Stockholm where he dined with Ransome on November 29, 1918. Litvinov proposed the immediate cessation of intervention in exchange for which Russia offered the repayment of war debts, access by the Allies to Russian resources of timber and minerals and release of prisoners held by Russia. Ransome served as the intermediary between Litvinov and the British Legation. Litvinov also wanted to be put into direct contact with members of the Legation. The British Cabinet was divided over the matter. Churchill and Curzon supported stronger intervention measures. Prime Minister Lloyd George supported a hands-off policy. No decision was made. When told that the Bolsheviks had specific proposals the Cabinet showed some interest. The Foreign Office remained uncertain and the French were opposed. The issue was closed. (November 7, December 3 ff, 1918)

With the ending of World War I in 1918 the question was raised as to why Allied intervention forces continued in Russia. The standard argument was that the Allies were honor bound to support the anti-Bolshevik forces and that the Allies had to maintain a force in the Far East to protect its interest against encroachments by Russia or Germany. The British government remained divided over the question of intervention in Russia since the German threat was no longer a major problem.

1919/1920.

BLOCKADE AND ANGLO-SOVIET TRADE TREATY.

Following the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the withdrawal of Russia from the war, some Allied leaders believed that Germany and Russia were cooperating and this cooperation could lead to German domination of the economic future of Eastern Europe. While the Allied leaders could not agree on a common policy regarding this matter, they supported the White Russian movement, military intervention and finally launched a program of economic

warfare. This warfare took the form of a blockade, economic intervention and an attempt to isolate Russia. While no official blockade was established, it became a reality in 1918 (Ransome believed the blockade had been in effect since 1914). In the months following the end of World War I, the wartime blockade of Germany was lifted but the blockade of Bolshevik Russia was not.

The Allied governments differed greatly on the blockade question making it impossible for them to establish a unified policy. The Supreme Economic Council established by the Paris Peace Conference in February 1919 to resolve economic matters attempted to deal with this problem. The question was raised as to whether the Allies would continue to blockade Soviet Russia once Germany had ratified the Treaty of Versailles (June 24, 1919) and trade had been renewed between the Allies and Germany. While the Allied leaders agreed to continue the blockade of Soviet Russia, the Supreme Economic Council opposed this decision. The British and the French supported the blockade until such times as an anti-Bolshevik government would be in place. The United States argued that since no formal blockade existed, each country would have to undertake domestic legislation on the matter. The Allied governments remained deeply divided over the matter of the blockade as well as opposing the Supreme Economic Council's support of discontinuing the blockade.

How did Soviet Russia respond to economic warfare and the blockade? Following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk Germany and Soviet Russia moved towards a trade agreement. Germany wanted foodstuffs and raw materials from Russia. Russia provided a list of goods it was willing to export. The actual exportation of these goods did not take place. A meeting was held in July and August 1919 leading to a supplementary treaty. It was signed on August 27, 1919. Germany was to provide territorial guarantees, while Soviet Russia was to compensate for German losses in the World War. In the months preceding the signing of the Armistice, the Germans exported fuel (coal) and weapons to Soviet Russia while Soviet Russia sent foodstuffs and compensatory funds to Germany. Russia's willingness to support revolutionary movements in Germany led to the breaking off of relations between the two countries. On November 13, 1918, two days after the Armistice, the Soviet government abrogated the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and the Supplemental Treaty.

War Communism was developed in part to deal with the economic crisis. The foundations for War Communism were laid shortly after the Bolsheviks took power. Its chief features were the expropriation of private businesses, the nationalization of industry and the requisition of grain and food products. By June 1918 the government adopted a number of economic measures designed

to provide economic support in the war against the White Russians. In June 1918 the government established a system for the requisition of grain. This was followed by the nationalization of all major industries later in the month and then by conscription of labor by late 1918. War Communism proved to be unsuccessful in dealing with the economic crisis. One of the negotiating points which the Soviet government included in the Bullitt proposal in March 1919 was the termination of the blockade and economic warfare. This as well as other Soviet proposals were ignored by the Paris Peace Conference members. War Communism was replaced in March 1921 with the New Economic Policy.

By July 1919 new issues brought the blockade issue to the forefront again. The question was raised as to whether neutral countries and Allied nationals were free to trade with Soviet Russia. Much of the trade in question was passing through the Gulf of Finland since the Allies and the White Russians controlled sea accesses in the remainder of Russia. The neutrals question forced the problem of the blockade to surface again in July 1919. With the exception of the United States, the Allied countries used naval forces to prevent goods from entering Soviet Russia. A note was sent to neutral countries stating that British and French warships would turn back ships in the Gulf of Finland bound for Soviet ports. Once this policy was enacted, it was opposed by certain neutral countries most notably Sweden and Germany. Within both England and the United States there was growing opposition to governmental policies towards Soviet Russia. In England opposition came from the Labour Party and the "Hands Off Russia" movement. In the United States there was strong opposition as America was becoming increasingly isolationist and did not want to be involved in these issues. This growing opposition led to a reconsideration of the Allied policy by the end of 1919. The change in policy was in part due to the collapse of the White Russian movement and the growing opposition of neutrals to the blockade. Lloyd George began to call for a change in British policy in late 1919. He was opposed by members of his own Cabinet. In a major address he questioned the usefulness of military intervention and the blockade as means for bringing down the Bolshevik government. Shortly afterwards the British Cabinet adopted the position that only war materials would be stopped. Ships carrying foodstuffs would be allowed to enter Soviet ports. The United States questioned this approach but adopted a wait-and-see policy for the time being.

Lloyd George presented to the Allied Supreme Council four days after the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles a proposal to stop the blockade of Russia and to resume trade with Russia. On January 16, 1920 the Supreme

Council approved the policy and formally declared the blockade at an end. A further step was taken in May 1920 when a delegation of British Labour members and representatives from the Trade Union Congress with the blessing of a Parliamentary Committee left for Russia in order to provide an independent inquiry into the political, industrial and economic conditions in Russia. When they returned they made a significant contribution to the rapprochement of the two countries.

Although Lloyd George had proposed to stop the blockade and to resume trade with the Russian people in January, it was not until May (the above delegation returned in June as the discussions got underway) that actual negotiations began. When first purposed the agreement was to have been a trade agreement with the Russian Cooperative Societies which was a nonpolitical organization separate from Bolshevik control. Initially the proposal stipulated that the contact was to be only with the Russian Cooperative Societies and that this did not mean formal recognition of the Soviet Union. However, the Soviets took over the Cooperative which required the British to deal with the Soviet government. Meanwhile the British Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon and Cabinet members who agreed with him argued that the Russians would 'pay any price' for an agreement and therefore demands should be made by the British government. As a result the trade issue became almost secondary to the political issues – the question of Soviet recognition, the payment of debts and obligations owed to British citizens from the prerevolutionary governments and gold seized by the Soviets from the Imperial State Bank and various White Russian regimes.

The negotiations progressed through a series of three stages over the next ten months. The principal negotiators were Lloyd George for the British and Leonard Krasin for the Soviets. They reduced the negotiable issues to two matters: (1) propaganda, subversion and hostile acts of one country against the other and (2) debts and claims against Russia by pre-1917 creditors – both of which were political issues. While both parties reached an agreement on adopting a pacific policy towards one another, the issue of pre-revolutionary debts was not settled. The British Note included the following demands: (1) cessation of hostile activities, (2) exchange of prisoners, (3) the settlement of debt and claims to be dealt with at future peace negotiations, (4) exchange of official trade missions. The Soviet government accepted these conditions laid down in the Note. The issue of trade which had initially been secondary to the political issues was brought up in September 1920 and the British drew up a Draft Agreement which was not submitted to the Soviets until November. The

British Cabinet, however was deeply divided over the trade issue: Lloyd George favored an immediate agreement; Lord Curzon wanted to force the Soviets to accept it with considerations favorable to the British; Winston Churchill opposed it. Churchill threatened to resign if the vote went against him. The vote was against him. He did not resign. Differences also existed in the Soviet government but a number of other issues made a trade agreement an urgent necessity. These included famine, worker and peasant unrest and a chaotic economy. In November the Soviet government had made concessions to private enterprise, the first of a number of steps leading up to the adoption of the New Economic Policy in 1921. Negotiations on the Trade Treaty were renewed in December 1920 and January 1921. While many parts remained unresolved Krasin returned to Moscow with an amended version of the British proposal. Soviet success in the Middle East, Central Asia and Turkey in early 1921 led to an unsettling effect on British industrialists who wanted the matter settled. Krasin returned to London on March 5 with a counter proposal which favored the Soviets. The 'no hostilities' clause was watered down and the demand for Soviet recognition of Czarist debts was completely eliminated. The agreement was signed by both parties on March 16, 1921. The two parties agreed to the following: no obstacles would be put in the way of trade with one another; while there was no formal recognition given to the Soviet Union, trade missions in London and Moscow would serve this purpose; each country would refrain from actions or undertakings and propaganda against the other country. Perhaps the most significant result was British de facto recognition of the Soviet Union. The issue of outstanding debts and nationalize properties was to be taken up at peace conference at a future time. [Economic conditions in Russia in 1920, June 18, 23, 24, July 2, August 13, 1920. Trade Treaty March 18, 19, April 18, August 19, October 8, 1920] [Lloyd George, May 20, June 24, 1920, April 18, September 24, 1921, March 13, May 4, October 23, 24, 1922.] [Lord Curzon, August 18, 1920, September 30, October 8, 1921, October 23, 27, 1921].

1921.

THE GREAT FAMINE (AN UNWRITTEN PAMPHLET?)

After having been hired by the Manchester Guardian in 1919, Ransome returned to Russia by way of Stockholm, then to Reval and crossed the Soviet–Estonian lines of combat before returning to Moscow on October 22, 1919. He carried with him the armistice terms of the Estonian government which eventually served as the basis for an armistice and then peace negotiations between Estonia and Russia. [Ransome gave considerable attention to Estonian Peace and the Baltic Conference in his 1920 dispatches. Also in the

1920 dispatches he wrote seven dispatches titled "Into Bolshevik Russia" which provide a detailed and most interesting discussion of his return to Moscow from the Estonian Peace Conference through the Lettish-Soviet lines in March 1920.]

After a brief stay in Moscow, he and Evgenia crossed the war zone and returned to Reval in early November 1919. Settling into Reval in 1920, he wrote "Aladdin, The Soldier and Death" and considered the possibility of writing a full length study of the history of the Russian Revolution. During this period he traveled several times to Moscow and Petrograd. He traveled to Minsk to cover the Russo-Polish cease-fire negotiations in late August. Ransome sent four dispatches to the Manchester Guardian before the negotiations collapsed. [Poland, May 20, June 9, August 18, 23, 25, 1920]

Following August 25, 1920 until March 17, 1921 no Ransome dispatches appeared in the Manchester Guardian. In August 1920 the Manchester Guardian ceased publication of his dispatches due to the cutback in publishing due to the growing cost of paper. While Ransom's contract would be eventually renew he continued to write some articles for the New York Herald until a dispute with the Russian correspondent for the Herald. He also submitted a number of articles to the Manchester Guardian which apparently were not published. In late February 1921 he returned to Moscow to get a visa which would allow him to travel to the Caucasus Region and Persia to investigate unsettled political activities. He was not issued a visa and returned to Reval. In March 1921 he was again reporting for the Manchester Guardian. [Hammond p. 271-2; Chambers p. 305; Autobiography p. 301]

During the period from mid-1920 into 1921 he was writing The Crisis In Russia. He submitted parts of it to the Manchester Guardian in June and July 1920 and completed a first draft. By 1921 he was ready to sign a publication agreement with Unwin. Preparing to travel to England in the summer of 1921 to sign an agreement for The Crisis In Russia, he postponed the trip due to illness. Meanwhile, in Riga the negotiations between the Soviet government and the American Relief Administration regarding famine relief for Russia were carried on. Again this was covered in dispatches to the Manchester Guardian at the end of August 1921. Ransom described the differences which delayed a final agreement and was present for the final signing of that agreement. (Manchester Guardian August 21, 1920) In a later published note he describes these events as follows: "I should say at once that I had been present in Riga during the negotiations between the American Relief Administration and the

Soviet authorities, had witness the signing of the agreement between the two, had talked with Nansen both before and after his visit to Moscow, and had read with amazement of the appointment of M. Noulens, the French Ambassador in Russia in 1918 (famous as a protagonist of armed action against the Soviet Government), as president of the International Commission for the Relief of the Famine. Before I left Riga it had already become clear that there would be a struggle between those who wished in the first place to relieve the famine and those who wished to profit by the famine for the purpose of further intervention, disguised or undisguised. The first steps of the latter had already been taken. There is little need to say that my own sympathies are entirely with Hoover and Nansen, who alike set humanity above politics and think more of the starving children of the Volga than of the hopes of émigré Russians to profit by that starvation.” (Personal Diary in Manchester Guardian October 6, 1921)

Shortly afterwards Ransome and an American Pathè News photographer George Ecole traveled to the famine stricken area of the Volga basin. The events of that trip in September were well documented in Ransome’s dispatches and in Ecole’s photographs

In early September they left Riga for Moscow, then traveled by train to Samara and then by boat up and down the Volga River stopping at various villages. Ransome’s dispatches were from Samara, Semlkino and Moscow. These dispatches were printed in the Manchester Guardian from September 5 to 29 1921 (Ransome had already expressed concern over the possibility of famine two years earlier in a dispatch to the Manchester Guardian, see December 18, 1919.) In addition Ransome took detailed notes on his trip and the experiences of himself and Ecole. These notes were published in the Manchester Guardian from October 6-14, 1921. Many of Ecole’s photographs were published and are available at present on-line. . [Ecole’s Photographs can be found at “Inside The Gates Of Soviet Russia” a British Pathe site.]

The Ransome’s notes will serve as the primary source for the discussion of the famine below.

Ransome’s notes and dispatches dealt with the following matters: the train from Moscow to Samara and the situation to the east in Orenburg; the starving children in Samara; the need for winter seed to avert further famine; the conditions in the refugee camps in Samara; the trip on the steamer up the Volga River to Kazan; and finally continuation of the river trip and the masses of refugees and their possessions. In his notes Ransome provides vivid

accounts of the conditions he and Ecole witnessed. In a dispatch dated September 14 but written on the 4th Ransome describes conditions he found in Samara.

“There is no cleanliness and no sanitary arrangements. The railway station and open spaces round it are pervaded by evil stench. Track, platform, and cobbles are littered with refuse and oozing sewage. And on this bed of filth, the verminous, malodorous, and squalid mass of starving men, women, and children sat amid swarms of buzzing flies. Even the dogs are lean. The horses show every rib in their bodies, and many of them are motionless, with closed eyes, too weak even to brush away the flies that throng in festering sores.

“Most of the people are too filthy to show whether they are pale or not, but many of the children are dreadful to look at. This afternoon I noticed a bundle of rags stirring slightly amid a heap of rubbish and refuse. I approached and a boy of about 15 looked up at me. The skin was drawn tightly over his pinched face. His eyes were like two slits. His face was ashen gray. His gray lips were shriveled so as to bare his teeth in a horrible manner. He looked down again, his pointed nose almost touching the rubbish heap. His gray hands moved feebly amongst the ordure and garbage. He found a piece of greenish melon rind. He took it in the flat of one hand and scraped off the shriveled pieces in his teeth.” (Manchester Guardian, September 14, 1921)

Later on in the same dispatch Ransome writes: “I saw the body of a little child lying almost naked in the station and livid with decay. A swarm of flies was buzzing around a fetid sore on its back.

“A dead boy was lying stretched across the pavement of a frequented street. People walked round him quite indifferently as they passed by. Only an old woman peered inquisitively into his lifeless face, and then went her way. The site was far too familiar for anyone to take much notice.

“An elderly man too weak to stand was dragging himself slowly across the street in a sitting posture. A boy was lying on the railroad track as a train approached. There were some shouting, and he was lifted out of the way of the train. The limp body of what was once a big, burly man was carried away on a stretcher.” (Manchester Guardian, September 14, 1921)

Several times in his dispatches and personal notes he comments on the wailing of the children. “At Samara station the children thronged beside the train, keeping up a steady wailing as regular as the noise of night jars in the woods, each child speaking for itself, individually: ‘A little bit of bread. A little bit of bread. Uncle, little uncle, give a little bit of bread.’ The feet of the

children were black with odd splashes of purple and blue and bright lights where the sunshine caught the projecting bones like patches of leprosy. Their faces were like those of hurt animals, like white illuminated masks, like anything but the faces of children. People gave them scraps of food from the windows of the train. Each scrap went straight into their mouths, and there were those printable little hands already asking for more. Mothers were standing there, weakly crying, past begging. One told me she was walking from Orenburg to Minsk, that is to say from one side of European Russia to the other. Eight of the family had died and all the beasts. She had a little scarcely moving skeleton in her arms, and two others at her side. A little boy with bleeding feet was searching the dust for the husk of sunflower seeds, finding here and there a husk that had been spat out before the whole of the kernel had been chewed up of it. Each tiny scrap he put into his mouth.” (Personal Diary, published in Manchester Guardian, October 7, 1921)

Ransome’s dispatches and his personal notes contain many more examples like the above. In two early entries (published October 7 and October 14) Ransome dealt with the causes for the famine and a possible solution for the future. Regarding the causes he wrote: “Responsibility for the famine does not lie wholly on the drought, but in part at least on those Russians who persuaded foreign countries to aid them in forcing Russia to go on fighting year after year. Responsibility for the famine lies at least in part on the Russians who with French and English and German help occupied the Russian granaries in 1918, marched on Moscow and Petrograd in 1919, on those who in 1920 with the help of the Poles kept Russia yet another year at war, on the long blockade which by paralyzing the town indirectly paralyzed agriculture, and so brought the country to a state in which it was defenseless against the drought. Goodwill is there. Of that we had ample proof. The effort is being made to bring seed to the fields at a cost which will be paid in other parts of Russia. But that effort cannot but be inadequate, and Western help is too late. Nansen might have brought the seed in time if Paris had allowed him. The world must realize that it is itself partially responsible for the horror of the Volga and the Kama and the Khirghiz steppes, and, quite apart from humanity, conscience should be enough to force the world to do its utmost to set right as far as possible the results of a futile mistaken policy which even yet has not been wholly discarded. (Personal Diary, published in Manchester Guardian, October 7, 1921)

By September/ October the New Economic Policy which had been enacted earlier in the year in March was beginning to take effect. Ransome described the change in Samara.

“But the change of policy of the Government in the direction of free internal trade in allowing private enterprise, although it had pleased the peasants, has had another effect. It produced here the same contrasts to which we in more ordinary countries have long since become accustomed. Here as in London or Paris or New York, people starve and eat cakes in the same street, a thing impossible in the Russia of a year ago, partially, of course, because of the absence of cakes. In the dull little town of Samara shops are opening. There are plenty of small restaurants. The Café Jean, mentioned in Baedeker, is again crowded with people, though less fashionably dressed than in old time. The Café is frequented mostly by small traders, by market women, by people who, far from being manual laborers, would certainly a year ago have been rounded up as “speculants.” Now they sit there and gorge themselves on excellent chocolate and elaborate pastries, while on the doorstep of the Café are starving folk glad of the veriest crusts. Industrial conscription has lapsed and been forgotten. Here in Samara, as in London, you can find a crowd of waiting hungry men who all rush together when someone calls out “Does anyone want work?” (Personal Diary, published in the Manchester Guardian, October 10, 1921)

In a later section of his personal account, Ransome offers a possible solution to the famine for the future. He wrote “The first thing that interested me, as I am persuaded it should be the first thing to interest anybody who hopes to see these people or that small percentage of them that survive the winter spared from the repetition next year of this year’s horror was the question of the sowing of the winter seed. Talking with Nansen in Riga, we had tossed the question backwards and forwards between us, and concluded in view of the fact that the season was already so far advanced that it would be impossible to supply in time all the seed necessary. Nansen, however, had a scheme of buying seed in countries near Russia, guaranteeing to restore to these countries the same amount of seed from America and Canada. The second time I saw him he was already clear that too many difficulties would be put in the way of this to make it a serious proposition, and that if anything were to be done, it would be done unaided by the Russian Government. I admit that I did not think they would be able to do much. However, partially by buying seed abroad, partially by using stocks collected in the more fortunate districts, they have succeeded in collecting a good deal, and, in spite of the inadequate transport, have been able to get what they collected to the peasants, not as early as might have been wished, but still in time to prevent what seemed at one time possible, a complete abandonment of the drought stricken fields. The need was over 40 million poods. 10 million poods were actually secured and distribution was already in full swing when we reached Samarra.” (Personal Diary, published in Manchester Guardian, October 10, 1921.)

Ransome moved about in late 1921 and 1922. The last dispatch from the famine area was dated October 14, 1921. A dispatch in the Manchester Guardian dated October 19, 1921 said he had just come out of the famine area. By Christmas 1921 he was back in Riga where he wrote his account of the famine. Also he wrote "The Ship and the Man" on New Years Day. It was published in the Manchester Guardian January 30, 1922. It was to be the basis for a book on sailing in the Baltic. It was never written but it was incorporated in Racundra's First Cruise. 1922 began with a very cold January and February during which he was in Riga, Reval, Helsingfors and Moscow. In March 1922 he was in England primarily visiting in Manchester. Meanwhile Racundra was being built. He sailed Racundra in the late summer. It was laid up for the winter early, went to Russia, spent a month there. Returned to Riga by Christmas and finished Racundra's First Cruise encouraged to do so by the Collingwood's in England. Wanted to spend winter 1922 in England. Manchester Guardian sent him to Moscow then back to Riga, then to England in December and then back to Riga by Christmas. During 1922 Ransome published through the Manchester Guardian a scattering of articles dealing with the Genoa Conference, Urquhart, Trade Agreements, the Straits, the Near East and Turkey.

1922/1923 DISINTEGRATION OF ANGLO- RUSSIAN RELATIONS.

Throughout much of the period from 1921 to 1923 Ransome and Evgenia (now in Riga) were preoccupied with the building, sailing and writing about Racundra and other boats. Following his trip up the Volga River he went directly to England where he gathered materials for a special edition of the Manchester Guardian on Anglo-Russian affairs. He was back in Riga by Christmas and then on to Moscow in February 1922 when he wrote dispatches on the N.E.P. [N.E.P. October 10, 1921, November 22, 1922 (a very detailed dispatch on this subject) June 26, 1923, December 13, 1923, January 21, 23, 1924, June 16, August 11, 12, 28, September 2, 1924.]

During the summer of 1922 he was primarily preoccupied with the delayed building of Racundra before it was launched in August. Ransome planned to go to England in September but was sent by the Manchester Guardian back to Moscow. Concerns in England over Soviet intervention into British territories in Asia and the crisis over the Dardanelles had him running between the Kremlin and the British trade mission. While in Russia he completed a first draft of Racundra's First Cruise. He returned to Riga in November and then in December to England where he signed the publishing contract for Racundra's First Cruise with Allen and Unwin. In January 1923 he returned to Moscow for

a theater and literature jaunt. He was back in Riga at the end of February to deal with a house fire. Then, briefly back to Manchester and then to Riga in late April. He traveled to Moscow in early May just when the Soviet Government received the Curzon Ultimatum. He became involved in that crisis and the broader problems of the disintegration of British – Russian relations.

The cause for the disintegration of British–Russian relations was the growing influence of the Soviets in Islamic Asia and the Middle East. This influence took the form of encouraging revolutionary activity and mounting anti—British propaganda in parts of the British Empire and areas which Great Britain regarded as spheres of influence. To stem this growing threat Great Britain developed a counter–revolutionary strategy in which it would use diplomatic and commercial means to counteract revolutionary activity. As a result Soviet activity in southwest Asia and the Middle East became an integral part of Anglo-Soviet trade relations after that.

As Soviet Russia entered world politics in 1920–1921, the issue of world revolution confronted the leadership. Three different positions emerged: (1) proletarian revolutions elsewhere would be delayed until Communist parties could mobilize mass movements; (2) the construction of Russian infrastructure depended on protection from further intervention, the technology of capitalism and the secure place for the Soviet Union alongside the capitalist countries; (3) the anti-imperialist revolution started in Russia should be continued among the Moslem peoples of Asia. Lenin argued that social revolution would not occur everywhere at once. It would happen in phases. In the colonial and semi-colonial areas of the world it was the duty of socialist to support the middle class struggle for democracy and national independence. Lenin's position on colonial regions was well-defined by 1916. In 1917 the Bolsheviks adopted the position that all peoples of the former Russian Empire had the right to secede and to form independent states. Later the position of the Bolsheviks on national–colonial policy changed. Support for independence was to be given to those peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean and Southwest Asia in the lands which were directly or indirectly controlled by the British and the French. However, national movements in the former Russian Empire in Transcaucasia and Central Asia were to be crushed and those people were to be brought back into the Soviet Union. Thus, independence for Asians of the former Russian Empire was to be denied. A further theory developed within the Muslim Asiatic world which called for movement towards social revolution that would be separate from developments in Europe and the Soviet Union. Some even argued that the liberation of Europe depended upon social revolution in Asia. Many of these issues were debated in the first (May 1919) and second (July and August 1920) Comintern Congresses. Leadership within the Bolshevik

party greatly differed over the issue of the role of Asian countries in world revolution. Lenin believed that the national liberation movements in Asia were important because they undermined the “imperialistic world order”. The task of the Comintern was to enter into an alliance with “bourgeois democrats” in order to support national independence. Trotsky, on the other hand, believed that the national liberation in Asia depended on a proletarian revolution in Europe. Others argued that the revolutionary movement in Asia must be built around a small proletariat class which included the poor peasants but not the middle class.

The national liberation of the Asiatic peoples took place in stages. The first stage involved retaking those territories which had been part of the Russian Empire but were separated from Russia as a result of the Revolution and the Civil War. This re-conquest occurred primarily between April and October 1920. The area involved included Transcaucasia and Central Asia. With the collapse of the Russian Empire in World War I the territories of Transcaucasia–Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia joined together in what was called the Transcaucasia Democratic Federation. After three months this federation was dissolved and each became independent republics. Between May 1918 and February 1921 these independent republics were overrun by the Soviets and became part of the Soviet Union as Soviet Socialist Republics.

The territories of Central Asia consisted of Turkestan and the smaller territories of Bukharan and Kharezm . These territories had been part of the Russian Empire since the 1860s. Following the October Revolution Lenin created the Turkestan Autonomous Social Soviet Republic with its capital at Taskent. This government was supported primarily by the Russian residents. A Muslim group already at odds with the Russian governments since 1916 created a rival government–the Kokand Autonomous Government. Conflict erupted between the Bolshevik and Muslim forces. A massacre of the Muslims followed leading to what is called the Basmachi rebellion. This group allied itself with White Russian forces in the area. Similar struggles took place in Bukharan and Khiva. The Tashkent Soviet was unable to contain the insurgency. The forces of the Basmachi were able to gain control of much of the region by late 1921. In 1922 the Red Army liberated from combat with White Russian forces elsewhere launched a major offensive against the Basmachi. In June 1922 the Basmachi forces were defeated in a decisive battle. The Bolshevik government was able to win over the support of the Muslim populace by providing food, tax relief and respecting local Muslim customs. What remained of the Basmachi forces were driven back into Afghanistan. The former territories of Central Asia were divided into the Turkmen SSR, the Kyrgyz SSR and Uzbek SSR in 1924.

While minor conflicts between Russia and England occurred over the developments in Central Asia, major problems developed between the two countries over Persia. With the Bolshevik revolution and the withdrawal of Czarist forces, Britain became the dominant power in the region. British domination of Persia had been a centerpiece of her policy in South Asia due to her fear that Russia would invade Afghanistan and India by way of Persia. In 1907 an Anglo-Russian Convention was signed. It divided Persia into two spheres of influence – southern Persia was assigned to Britain whereas northern Persia was assigned to Russia. When the Bolsheviks took power they declared that they had no designs on Persia and treaties related to Persia were null and void. This allowed Britain to dominate Persia and the surrounding region. Lord Curzon wanted to create a group of vassal states stretching from the Mediterranean to India thus protecting India and other British imperial interests. The domination of Persia was a vital link in this plan where a pro-British government was installed in 1918. The end result of this was the Anglo-Persian Agreement was announced in August 1919 but not ratified. Had it been ratified it would have given Britain control over the Persian treasury, her army and railroads. However most significant was the placing of British troops in Persia and the granting of British access to oil fields in northern Persia which had been part of the Russian sphere of influence. The growing presence on Russia's southern border most notably Persia complicated Russia's overall policy in which she was attempting to normalize relations with European powers and countries on her southern borders.

Following Deniken's defeat the Bolsheviks adopted a more aggressive approach to the British presence in this area. In March and April 1920 the Bolsheviks advanced into Transcaucasia. The remnants of the British naval ships stationed in the Caspian Sea to aid the Deniken campaign were captured in May 1920. Soon the Soviets adopted a two-fold policy towards Persia. On the one hand they would not militarily advance into Persia and would attempt to establish relations with the Persian government and secondly they would support a revolutionary nationalist movement in northern Persia. With Soviet help the nationalist established what was called the Gilan Soviet Republic in June 1920. Conflict between the nationalist and communist factions in this new government erupted. The government in Tehran launched an attack against Gilan in order to pacify the region. In February 1921 a reorganized Persia Cossack Brigade marched on Tehran, installed a new government led by Reza Khan, renounced the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1919 and signed a treaty with Russia. While there were specific agreements between the two governments, for the Bolshevik government it meant the end of British domination of Persia on her southern border, the withdrawal of British troops from Persia and the protection of oil sources in Transcaucasia. In turn the

government of Reza Khan succeeded in convincing the Soviets to withdraw support for Gilan.

Since the 1860s both Russia and England had been interested in and expanding their influence into Afghanistan. In 1907 as a result of the Anglo-Russian Entente a settlement was reached whereby Afghanistan became a sphere of influence for Britain. Afghan foreign relations were conducted by the government of British India. However, by 1919 the new Amir who was a reformer supported independence for Afghanistan. This government denounced past treaties with England and opened negotiations with the Soviet Union who supported independence for colonial territories. Following unrest along the Afghan-Indian border a treaty was signed in August 1919.

After the treaty was signed Britain withdrew some of its support from Afghanistan which eventually allowed that country to handle its own foreign affairs. As a result the Soviets negotiated and signed a treaty of recognition and friendship with the Afghans in 1921. The Soviets agreed to provide military and financial assistance. The primary objective of the Soviets was to diminished British predominance in the area rather than creating socialist revolution. Differences soon developed between the Soviets and the Afghans. Both were interested in laying claim to Turkestan. As a result conflict developed between the Soviets and Afghan-based resistance fighters in Turkestan. The resistance movement was defeated in 1923. Renewed friendship developed between the Soviets and the Afghans as both desired to turn back efforts by British India and to gain control over tribal groups in the north. The Soviet Union continued to support the Amir's regime in Afghanistan until it was finally overturned by conservatives in the period from 1924 to 1929.

The British approach to the Soviet revolutionary activity changed in the spring of 1920 at the time that trade negotiations began. British troops were withdrawn from the Caspian Sea and northern Persia. Britain dealt with the Soviet revolutionary activity by diplomatic and commercial means. Thus, the pending trade negotiations would be tied to counterrevolutionary efforts. The preamble to that trade agreement stated that both parties should refrain from conducting outside its own borders propaganda against the other party. The policy of Lloyd George's Cabinet at this point was one of detente and intransigence (as related to Russian expansion in Asia). Although tensions continued between the Soviets and the British, the Soviets adopted a policy in which revolutionary activity in Asia was cut back. The Soviet government signed friendship treaties with Persia and Afghanistan in February 1921 and the trade agreement with Britain was signed in May 1921.

Rapprochement between the Soviets and the Allies began in September 1921 and resulted in the Genoa Conference in April–May 1922. In September 1921 the Politburo made a series of proposals that if accepted would be a first step towards peaceful coexistence with the Allies. These included the repayment of debts by the Soviet government in exchange for low-interest loans, de jure recognition, guaranteed non-interference in Soviet affairs and a general peace treaty. The initiative taken by the Soviet Union at this stage was aimed at ending Soviet isolation from the West and expanding economic relations between Russia and the West. This became the basis of Lenin's and Chicherin's policy of peaceful coexistence and economic integration. Two elements which might have served as the foundation for rapprochement at this stage were the solution to the debt problem and secondly opening Russia to Western markets. The third element was perhaps the most important. It was based upon Lloyd George's Grand Design. It called for political stabilization based upon a renunciation of force in which England would play the dominant role in European affairs and secondly economic reconstruction with the revival of international trade. To deal with the economic issue Lloyd George had adopted a German idea of a consortium project and a Russian idea of an international conference to deal with Russian and European reconstruction. Lloyd George's proposal became the basis for the Genoa Conference which would deal with the issue of political stability and economic recovery. Thus, the combined schemes formed what was called the Genoa Composite Project. Lengthy negotiations preceded the meeting. The conference itself was held in Genoa Italy from April 10 through May 19, 1922. No agreement was reached on the central issues. The Genoa Composite Project did, however, serve as the basis for future negotiations. A second conference was held at The Hague in June 1922. The same countries with the exception of Germany were represented at this meeting. The issues discussed at The Hague Conference were claims of Western countries against the Soviet government related to the nationalization of property, the repudiation of debts of the Czarist and the Provisional Government and the problems related to Soviet credit. The Western powers rejected the proposals of the Soviet delegation. No decisions were adopted. Relations between the Soviets and the West cooled in the summer of 1922 when there was a resurgence of revolutionary activity. The Soviets were dispersing weapons and money to revolutionary groups in Persia, Afghanistan and on the frontiers of India.

OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE URQUHART AFFAIR. .

Further events which added to the tensions between England and the Soviet Union prior to the Curzon Ultimatum were the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the Urquhart Affair (the issue of Concessiona).

The overall Eastern policies of the British and the Soviets were on opposite sides of this conflict by 1920. Earlier Russia had been preoccupied with the Revolution and Civil War. Britain had taken on the role of imposing order in the lands from the Caspian and Black Seas to the Straits. Many of these areas had been part of the Russian and Ottoman Empires. Britain now claimed the area because of her role in defeating the Ottoman Empire. The Soviet Union's interest in the area developed in 1920 when Lenin became interested in the lands in Asia which were colonized by Western countries or were in one way or another dominated by Western powers. The so-called Soviet Eastern Policy was introduced by Lenin in the 1920 Second Comintern Congress. The Soviet Union would support national independence groups in colonial and non-colonial territories that were beyond the boundaries of the old Russian Empire.

Plans to partition the Ottoman Empire were based on a series of secret treaties negotiated by the Allies between 1915 and 1917. In addition territorial promises had been made to Greece in exchange for her entrance into World War I. In October 1918 the British negotiated unilaterally the Armistice of Mudros which ended hostilities with the Ottoman Empire. The treaty required the Ottoman government to open the Straits to Allied warships and its forts were to be occupied by the Allies, to demobilize its army, to abandon certain Arab provinces which were already occupied by the Allies and to occupy Ottoman territory where disorder threatened the general security. In the following month France (which had been left out of the Armistice negotiations) and then Britain and Italy occupied Constantinople. The Allies also occupied other sites in the Ottoman Empire. In January 1919 the Allies took steps at the Paris Peace Conference to further implement the secret treaties signed between 1915 and 1917. The Armistice of Mudros and the events which followed marked the de facto end of the Ottoman Empire. These events mobilized opposition from some Ottoman officials and led to the formation of the Turkish National Movement led by Mustafa Kemal and his colleagues. The Turkish National Movement landed forces at Samsun on the Black Sea in May 1919. The British responded by sending troops into the area.

The demands of the Turkish Nationalist Movement included the integrity of all territories inhabited by the Ottoman Islamic majority and plebiscites in territories where these majorities did not exist; protection of Constantinople; negotiations regarding trade and commerce on the Straits; and protection of minority rights. The British responded by attempting to dismantle organizations in Anatolia including the Turkish National Movement. This led to clashes between the two sides. Kemal declared that the only legal government of Turkey was the Representative Council of the Nationalist group and moved the capital to Ankara. There was wide popular support for this move.

Meanwhile, negotiations between the Allies and the Sultans government which had begun at the Paris Peace Conference, continued at the Conference of London, took shape at the San Remo Conference resulting in the signing of the Treaty of Sevres in August 1920. This treaty officially ended the war between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies. In the treaty Anatolia was to be westernized under Christian control. The Allies were given extended territorial rights and the Straits were internationalized. The treaty was later annulled and superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. [Straits Issue. July 15, 1921. October 10, 18, 23, 30, November 4, 20, 1922. January 20, February 10, 22, December 24, 1923]

In contrast the Soviet Union supported the nationalist under Kemal's leadership. A draft treaty of friendship was drawn up in August 1920 and formalized into the Treaty of Moscow in March 1921. Bolsheviks and Kemalists undertook to establish friendly relations and to adopt the principles established by the Kemalists. In addition certain territories were ceded by the Kemalists to the Soviets and firm borders were established. In turn the Soviets supported Turkish sovereignty over the Straits and Constantinople. Thereafter the Soviets provided the Turkish forces with gold and armaments which allowed the Turks to organize an effective army. In October 1921 the Kemalists signed a similar treaty with the Soviet Armenia, Soviet Azerbaijan and Soviet Georgia.

With the escalation of military operations, the British needed reinforcements. The British government could not provide these reinforcements. The British public was opposed to the escalation of involvement. The British then turned to Greece which provided reinforcements. Greece had been promised Ottoman territory by Lloyd George who envisioned what was called the Hellenic Empire. In May 1919 the Greeks had landed in Anatolia at Smyrna just shortly before the outbreak of the Turkish War of Independence. In 1920 the Treaty of Sevres gave Greece eastern Thrace and a large section of western Anatolia around Smyrna. By 1921 the Greek forces moved east into Anatolia against the Turkish forces. The Greek forces were driven back and defeated in 1922. In September 1922 Turkish forces entered Smyrna and asserted their claim to eastern Thrace. The British decided to take a stand but France and other Allies objected. A peace conference was opened in November 1922 and then after Turkish protests reopened in April 1923 leading to the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923. This treaty nullified the Treaty of Sevres; it officially ended the war between Turkey and the Allies; it established an independent Republic of Turkey; and it established the modern borders for that country as well as neighboring countries. [Turkey and the East. March 18, 1921. Series

called Russian Policy In the East July 12 to July 22, 1921, July 26, 27, 1921, October 23, 24, 30, November 4, 20, 1922, January 29, February 10, 1923]

The second major incident which contributed to the growing tensions in Anglo-Soviet relations was the Urquhart Concession Affair. Leslie Urquhart born in Russia, educated in England was the chairman of the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated Corporation which was the largest mining and metallurgical company in Russia. Urquhart attempted to mediate between the two governments in 1922 in order to reestablish control over mining properties primarily located in Kazakstan which had been nationalized by the Bolsheviks. He and Leonard Krasin, Soviet Commissioner of Foreign Trade worked out an agreement whereby if the Soviet Union was invited to the Lausanne Conference (Near Eastern questions) and the Soviet Union was granted de jure recognition then the Soviet Union would negotiate a general economic agreement with European countries, recognize her foreign debts and compensate foreigners for the loss of property (which would have included the RACC properties). Although Urquhart and Krasin had close political ties with the political leadership in their respective countries, there were a number of obstacles which stood in the way for both negotiators. The Bolsheviks were suspicious of Urquhart as a former interventionists and company representative. The British Foreign Office had doubts about his motivations and judgments. The two governments had similar concerns about Krasin. Once the Trade Agreement had been signed and trade missions had been set up in London and Moscow in June 1921, Urquhart began to propose certain concession agreements. These were the conditions surrounding the negotiations. As a result Lenin strongly opposed the agreement as did the Politburo. The British Foreign Office led by Lord Curzon was equally opposed to the agreement. The non-ratification of the Urquhart Concession was a major factor in the disintegration of Anglo-Soviet relations, culminating in the Curzon Ultimatum of May 1923. However, by then Lloyd George's attempt to work with the Soviet government had come to an end as his governing coalition fell apart and his government was replaced by a Conservative government and Lord Curzon as Foreign Minister became the dominant force in the new Cabinet allowing for the issuance of the Curzon Ultimatum. The mining properties in question were gradually taken over by the Soviet Government in the 1920s.

1923. [Urquhart Affair, October 10, 14, 30, 1922. January 4, February 3, March 16, 1923.]

THE CURZON ULTIMATIUM.

With the breakup of Lloyd George's coalition government new elections were held giving the Conservatives control of the British government. Andrew Boner-Law became the new Prime Minister in October 1922. This meant that Lloyd George's policy of detente towards Russia ended and Lord Curzon's policy of intransigence was in force. As a result the British government would adopt what was called the Curzon Ultimatum which was sent to Russia in May 1923. A number of issues were brought up which related to Soviet activities in the countries from India to the new Republic of Turkey but especially in Persia and Afghanistan. The sending of the Ultimatum coincided with the opposition to the Urquhart Concession and the Treaty of Lausanne. The British government demanded that the Soviet government recall diplomatic representatives from Afghanistan and Persia because of what were claimed to be improper actions against the British Empire; establish a three-mile zone of coastal waters along the Murmansk shore; pay financial compensation for repressive measures taken by Soviet agencies against British spies. The British demanded full compliance, a reply within ten days and most important threatened to cancel the trade agreement of 1921 if the Soviets did not consent to the demands. The Ultimatum created conditions which intensified the activity of interventionists and increased the possibility of war. Much of the rapprochement which had been growing since 1920 was endangered. The language of the ultimatum was hostile and considered by the Soviets as offensive. The initial reaction of the Soviet leadership was one of outrage. In an address at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Sixth International on June 15, 1923 Karl Radek expressed the outrage directed at Lord Curzon. In his opening statement he said "Comrades, we fully appreciate the great honor Lord Curzon has conferred upon us by the apostrophe. We also know that we are not as competent to deal with world political questions as Lord Curzon. None of us has been to Eton. None of us have dreamed at the age of seven that we should become the Viceroy of India. Neither do we represent the class which for 300 years has been the maker of world policies." Although the initial intent of the Soviet government was to answer the British in kind, the eventual response was conciliatory and prompt.

Arthur Ransome had followed events in the Middle East and in particular the Greco-Turkish war in his dispatches to the Manchester Guardian. In his Autobiography he gives over an entire chapter to his role in the negotiations and the change of tone in the Soviet response. (See The Autobiography of Arthur Ransome, Chapter XXXIX). No other source deals with this problem. Ransome's account deals with the negotiations which resulted in a conciliatory Soviet response. Ransome arrived in Moscow, made his way through the anti-British demonstrating crowds to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to discuss the crisis. Perceiving that a stalemate had been reached

Ransome decided to disregard Curzon's "no discussion order" and set up a meeting between Hodgson and Litvinov outside of Moscow. The two negotiators walked through the woods and the deal was made. The Soviets would comply with the demands. The response prevented what might have been a break in Anglo-Soviet relations and possibly war. In further negotiations the British government made additional demands which redefined in much harsher terms the word propaganda used in the 1921 treaty. In June 1923 the Soviet government agreed to terms. [Russian-British Relations and the Curzon Ultimatum. May 9 to June 22, 1923 and December 24, 1923]

1924.

LENIN'S DEATH

Shortly after the resolution of the Curzon Ultimatum crisis, Ransome returned to Riga. Much of the summer of 1923 was spent sailing Racundra and receiving copies of his book Racundra's First Cruise. He returned to Moscow in late September, then to England in late October, and back to Riga in December. In early January 1924 he traveled to Moscow. His dispatches to the Manchester Guardian covered such topics as retrospective view of Petrograd, the Soviet policy on concessions (below) and differences over Afghanistan. He attended the Eleventh All Russian Congress of Soviets which met January 19 to 22. On January 22 M. I. Kalinin announced that Lenin had died on the previous day. Ransome's dispatches thereafter dealt with his death, the funeral and the issue of succession. In his dispatch for January 23, 1924 he describes the reaction to the news by the Congress members. "Almost everybody in the great theater burst into tears, and from all parts came the hysterical wailing of women. Tears were running down the faces of the members of the proceedings. The funeral march of the Revolutionaries was played by a weeping orchestra... His death is a blow not only to the Communist Party, but to all Russia. Even the irreconcilable enemies of the Revolution are unable to disguise their respect for one of the greatest figures in Russian history." (Manchester Guardian January 23, 1924) Ransome's obituary of Lenin which had been written some weeks earlier was also published in the January 23 Manchester Guardian.

In his January 24 dispatch Ransome describes the gathering at Gorki where Lenin died as they prepared to move his body back to Moscow. "Yesterday and last night at Gorki friends of Lenin had watched by the body. It was brought out of the railway wagon and carried down the platform by some of those who had known him best. Kamenev, Stalin, Tolsky, Bucharin, Zinoviev, Kalinin, Rykov, Enukidze. There were no speeches. The band played a funeral march.

From far away outside the station one could hear the song for the fallen sung here and there by crowds waiting to join the procession to carry Lenin to the Hall of Trade Unions, where in the old days he often used to speak and where now he will lie in state till the funeral.” (Manchester Guardian January 14, 1924)

In his dispatch for January 28 he describes in some detail the funeral ceremony. At one point he writes: “From early-morning processions from all parts of the town were forming and passing ceaselessly into the square, past the bier, and out of the square again. At 4 o’clock the coffin was taken into the mausoleum. Throughout the whole of Russia all transport by road, rail, and water now stops for five minutes. For five minutes the whole life of the country is arrested. There is a military salute of canon, gun by gun in the smaller garrisons, battery by battery in Petrograd and Moscow, while flags are lowered, and military orchestras play a funeral march. For three minutes throughout the whole of Russia there is a continuous blast of factory sirens to symbolize the fact that Lenin was the leader of the working class. The sirens fade into silence, the guns continue until, the last gun dies away, the troops dismiss and the ceremony is over.” [Lenin’s Death January 23, 24, 26, 28, 1924. Lenin and Trotsky August 1, 2, 4, 1924. Post-Lenin Changes and Leadership in the Bolshevik Party, January 21, 24, 25, 25, February 4, June 7, August 11, 12, September 1, 2, 1924]

ANGLO-SOVIET RELATIONS AND RECOGNITION.

A major shift in Anglo–Soviet relations in 1924 led to the British de jure recognition of the Soviet Union. On December 6, 1923 national elections were held in Great Britain which led to the formation of the first Labour government headed by Ramsey McDonald who also served as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. McDonald had pledged to give the Soviet Union de jure recognition. On the one hand economic stability and political neutrality led the Soviets to want to negotiate agreements with the Western countries. On the other hand the British wanted a solution to the outstanding debt problems and the Soviet nationalization of British owned properties in Russia. On February 2, 1924 Britain extended unconditional recognition to the Soviet Union. Both agreed to non-interference in each other’s affairs and to a conference in London to deal with the financial matters. Recognition was a formality to the settlement of English claims on Russia and Russian claims on England. At the London Conference the Soviets were asking for reparations for damages done by Britain in Russia during the Civil War. The British were asking for repayment of loans incurred by the Czarist and Provisional Governments of Russia. What

complicated the negotiations was an agreement at the previous Genoa Conference whereby Entente war debts to Russia and Soviet counterclaims for intervention and blockade damages cancelled each other. The London Conference opened on April 14, 1924. The first major matter of business was the Russian war debts. The Russians proposed the annulment of these debts because of gold reserves sent by Czarist Russia to England and the share of Bolshevik gold sent to Germany under the terms of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk and then transferred to England and other Allies. However, there remained the English bondholder claims and the issue of nationalized British properties in Russia. Regarding the prewar and wartime bond debts, the British proposed to make a loan to the Russian government for productive purposes whereby the Soviet government would make a lump sum payment to cover the prewar debts. The Soviet government offered a counter proposal in which the British government would make a loan to the Soviet government to repay the bond debt from the differences in interest rates for the two countries. To do so would have required British guarantee of the loan which after considerable opposition the British government was unable to do. The matter was taken up at a negotiation session between the Soviet government and the conference of British bondholders but with no immediate result. The issue was turned back to the joint government conference to be decided. As long as it was acceptable to one half of the bondholders the British government would negotiate directly with the Soviet government. While the Bolsheviks opposed any compensation for nationalized British properties, the British government pressured by industrialist and banking interest asked that all claims be satisfied. It was finally agreed that the Soviet government would negotiate separately with nationalized property owners and where claims were not satisfied (with small property owners) the matter would be adjudicated. In addition to the above settlement the two countries would negotiate a commercial treaty without serious differences. These agreements proved to be very unpopular with the Conservatives and Liberals and they called for a new election. [Russian Economy-Anglo-Russian Trade Treaty. January 4, February 4, June 16, 26, August 26, 28, October 17, 1924.

At the same time two new events developed which would affect the outcome of the election. The so-called Campbell Case in which the government withdrew from the prosecution of a left-wing newspaper and the Zinoviev Letter—a letter supposedly written by Gregory Zinoviev, the President of the Communist International to the British representative on the Comintern inciting the Communist Party in England to revolution. The letter appears to have been a forgery. The treaty issue and the two parallel events led to the

defeat of the Labour government and the return of the Conservative party to power headed by Stanley Baldwin. The supplementary treaty was not signed by the Baldwin–Chamberlain Cabinet. [Zinoviev Letter October 31. November 3, 4, 1924]

In a lengthy dispatch to the Manchester Guardian printed on January 4, 1924 Ransome interviewed Maxim Litvinov Ambassador at Large on the Soviet position on making concessions to outside industrialist. His comments were made one month before recognition was granted. “As far as regards Great Britain one can state that, after a short period that followed Lord Curzon’s ultimatum in the spring, during which a certain reticence was observable on both sides, there has been a marked revival of relations between British groups and the Concessions Committee. During the last few months the Concessions Committee has been approached by the most important British industrial and financial groups which, up to that time, had been among the adversaries of business with Russia. More; among these groups are a good many previous owners of property that was nationalized in Russia. We regarded as most significant that these adversaries, after unsuccessful attempts to turn their Government upon us, are now themselves trying to come to terms directly with the Government of the [Soviet] Union.

“Our position in the questions left open by the Conferences of the Hague and Genoa has not changed. But, as we have on several occasions declared, there are a considerable number of industrial and mining undertakings which we are prepared to give as concessions on reasonable terms, and among them some of the nationalized property. Not only do we not exclude as concessionaires previous foreign owners, but we should in many cases prefer them to new owners on account of their experience, their knowledge of the particular business, of Russia, and of the Russian people.

“The objects of the proposed concessions are of the most various kinds, agricultural, mining, timber, railway, and trading concessions. The concessions are of two forms; pure concessions, where foreign companies have complete control and administration of undertakings on which they merely pay a royalty to the Union Government, and mixed companies, in which the Union Government or its organs are partners in the business, contributing to the capital either in kind or in money, sharing loss and profit and participating in the administration....

“It is impossible to define the fact that confidence in the reconstructed republics of the Union is growing from day to day, and with this growing

confidence proposals from abroad are increasing in number and improving in quality. If the number of agreements signed is inconsiderable in proportion to the number of proposals received it is due to the fact that the [Soviet] Union Government is by no means in a hurry. It prefers to proceed slowly with the concessions policy, carefully considering each proposal from the point of view of the ultimate economic interest of the country and retaining in the hands of the State control of the most important branches of industry. In this as in other respects we are guided by the precept of Lenin, "Less, but better." (Manchester Guardian January 4, 1924)

While Arthur Ransome reported sporadically on these events to the Manchester Guardian he had two lengthy interviews with Chicherin the Soviet Commissary for Foreign Affairs on the change of government in Britain and the matter of recognition. In the dispatch for January 26, 1924 Chicherin expressed his admiration for Ramsey MacDonald whom he had met in England but had major reservations as to what he would be able to do. He said that the Labour Party did not have a majority in the House of Commons and the working class leadership was imbued with the spirit of gradualness so that they would not be aggressive. In addition he commented on various other Labor leaders that he had briefly met while in England. While commenting on the shortcomings of the Labour Party and the working class movement, Chicherin believed that the Soviets and the English could work together for general world peace. Chicherin viewed the major impediment to working together at the international level to be the "constant offensive against us of the British political machine in Asia. The so-called foreign policy in Afghanistan is a serious threat to our peaceful existence in Asia...." (Manchester Guardian, January 26, 1924).

In the dispatch for February 4, 1924 Ransome again interviewed Chicherin this time on the matter of recognition. Chicherin praised England for its long-standing willingness to compromise with the Soviet Union from the very beginning through the negotiations of the trade agreement. "The resumption of trade relations with Russia was the result of the initiative of the British Government, and through all the vicissitudes of the relations between our two countries the truly Liberal press never ceased to advocate conciliation and agreement. Working-class opinion and enlightened political thought are the two forces which brought about the present admirable result." However, Chicherin expressed concerns over the qualifiers in the British Note of recognition. "I thought it gave us full recognition, but in the second paragraph I found that normal conditions between us will be restored only after vexed questions about debts, private property, and so on have been solved. We have recognition, but not normal conditions. What does recognition if not normal

relations between the States in question !” Again Chicherin raises the question of conflicting interest in Asia and the need for England to recognize that the Soviet Union has “...our unbreakable friendship for the peoples of the East. [It] does not mean aggressiveness on our part, but, on the contrary means the putting in practice of the principles which the great Kier Hardie so magnificently advocated.” (Manchester Guardian, February 4, 1924).

Ransome felt something of a personal victory when it came to recognition as he saw again the problem of intervention and non-recognition at the root of the problem over the past seven years. It marked the conclusion of a phase in his life. In his Autobiography he sums up his role in the following words. "On the following Saturday Hodgson went to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to present a note announcing British recognition of the Soviet Government, nearly seven years after it had been formed. [Ransome was present at the ceremony for recognition] For nearly seven years we had been doing exactly what the theorist of revolution had said we would, thereby confirming them at every turn. Intervention had fanned into flame the embers of the Civil War that, but for us, would have ended almost the moment it began. The evils of that disastrous policy are with us yet, making it easy for those who wish to do so to persuade the normally peaceful mind of Russian people of our implacable hostility, and so to justify the policy of the iron curtain which is likely to have similar disastrous results for mankind. But then, on the second day of February 1924, recognition of the Soviet Government meant recognition that the policy of Intervention was not only dead but, so far as we were concerned, formally buried. It was a very happy day for me. "My war, which has lasted for more than five years after the Armistice of 1918, was over. I was free to struggle back as best I could to my proper job."(Autobiography p. 317).

Ransome was in Riga in early January but went to Moscow on January 21 following Lenin's death and remained there until March. He made a trip to England where his divorce was completed. A number of letters from Ransome to Evgenia during his brief stay are reproduced in Brogan's book. [Brogan, pp. 275 – 284]. He then returned to Reval where he and Evgenia were married on May 8 by the British Consulate. During the summer they sailed Racundra. On November 14, 1924 they left Riga for England. Soon after the Manchester Guardian sent Ransome to Egypt for two months to cover their revolution. Ransom's first dispatch from Egypt was dated December 27, 1924. His last dispatch from Egypt was dated May 21, 1925.

J.M.G.

DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA 1917-1924.

VOLUME I.

DISPATCHES FOR 1917.

DN January 11, 1917.

Russia's Loss.

Value of the Retiring Ministers.

Petrograd, Wednesday

A new turn has been given to the political kaleidoscope. The resignations of M. Treoff, President of the Council and Minister of Ways and Communication, and of M. Ignatieff, Minister of Education, have been accepted. Further Under – Secretary for Foreign Affairs, follows his old chief, M. Sazonoff, out of office. Prince Golitizin becomes President of the Council, and M. Kultchitzky Minister of Education. Two posts are still unfilled, and further resignations would not cause surprise.

M. Kultchitzky was a supporter of M. Ignatieff a predecessor, M. Koso[. Both belong to the era preceding the reforms of 1905.

The resignation of M. Ignatieff is a great loss to Russia. He is not Radical, or even Liberal, but is transparently honest, and he has worked devotedly for the cause of education for years, in which he is much more interested than in party politics. He resigned on seeing that M. Protopopoff retained his place in spite of the clearly expressed feeling of the Duma.

M. Trepoff's resignation will be less sincerely regretted, but against the present background it also shines as one of principle. He believed that there was at least a temporary need of meeting the wishes expressed by the Duma, the Assembly of Nobles, and the press for real collaboration between the Administration and the people. He resigned seeing that this was not to be. The "Russkaya Volya" ends a gloomy leading article on the new changes by saying:

"Let us be calm. In these latest times Russia has suffered much. But we never before realized so vividly that the Fatherland was in danger. Now, as never before, we must love Russia. Think of her in these different days."

DN January 20, 1917.

**Rival Forces In Russia.
Influence of Council of the Empire.**

Petrograd, Thursday.

I hear on good authority that M. Sazonoff's appointment as successor to Count Benckendorff, the late Russian Ambassador in London, will be officially announced shortly, and he is likely to start for England immediately. His name, it is said, was suggested for the post by M. Pokrovsky., the Foreign Minister.

The position of M. Shtcheglovitoff as President of the Council of the Empire is much more important than appears at first sight, partially because at the present time the President of the Council of the Empire has greater security of tenure than any other Minister, and partially because Bills passed by the Duma and the Council of the Empire are personally submitted by him to the supreme authority.

His influence is already visible in the strengthening of the parties of the Right in the Council of the Empire. The weakening of the parties of the Left in the Council brings again into a position of special importance the group of the Right Center, led by M. Neidhardt, on which group practically depends the majority. M. Neidhardt, however, while unable to speak for his party, many of whom are not for the moment in Petrograd, expresses his personal intention of preserving his independence, and not joining the Right block, the formation of which is under discussion. Should such a block be formed in the Council M. Shtcheglovitoff's power will become very great.

In the Duma also the Right parties are attempting to form a block, but they are in such a minority that they could at the most, gain greater efficiency in obstruction.

The political forces now engaged may be stated as follows: On the side of the Duma, with a strong progressive majority, is definitely opposed to the Ministry. Then the Council of the Empire under M. Shtcheglovitoff, with a Conservative majority, is far more definitely than before opposed to the Duma. Finally there is the Ministry.

O. January 21, 1917.

[This is Ransome's first Dispatch to the Observer]

Reaction In Russia.

Changes in Council Of The Empire.

Duma As Safety Valve.

An Obscure Situation.

Petrograd, January 19.

Events on the line of the Sereth in Rumania are beginning to bear a character much resembling that which marked the final holding up of the German invasion on the line of the Dvina in 1915. It seems more than possible that the Germans will have no further Rumanian successes

Meanwhile the northern end of the front, General Radko Dimitrvi., at Riga, has achieved a thoroughly successful local offensive which has shaken the confidence of the Germans in their power effectually.to replace men by guns. The gains on the Riga front are now definitely consolidated in spite of a long series of counter-attacks. The fortified positions taken are comparable to those on the Western Front. The importance attributed by the Germans to the northern operation is shown in the many efforts to disturb the Russian plans by demonstrative attacks on other parts of the front.

The attention of Petrograd, however, is focused neither on Rumania nor on Riga, but on the series of prophetic events in the elaborate drama of internal politics. The gulf between the Duma and the Ministry is reaching a critical stage. Last Sunday was the Russian New Years Day, and brought with it, as usual, changes of the membership of the Council of the Empire, which on this occasion were of the most significant character. M. Golirbaff, who had

presided in the absence of M. Koulomzin, on account of the illness, at the meeting of the Council, where speeches were made supporting the Duma and condemning the "Dark Forces" has ceased to be an active member and has since been removed altogether from the Council. M. Shehegloyitoff, who at the same meeting had led the group supporting the Ministry, has become President of the Council, and his position there has been strengthened by a marked weeding out with a view of ensuring a majority of the Right, which will be effected if the Neidhardt group of the Right Center votes with the Right.

Public feeling against M. Protopopoff has culminated in a number of Ministerial resignations, while M. Protopopoff retains his post and new Ministers are found willing to bear the odium of serving with him. In this way Russia has lost in Count Ignatieff one of the best Ministers of Education she ever had. General Sbuvaieff, the War Minister, has joined him, and M. Bark has left Petrograd on the grounds of delicate health, and his example is likely to be followed by others.

Apart from M. Protopopoff, the chief personality of the week, is M. Sheheglovitch, who was busily engaged in organizing the Conservative forces. His career has been a steady progression from Left to Right, and he is now definitely representing reaction. The Premier, Prince Nicholas Golitzin is a pronounced member of the Right, but he is in no way distinguished as he disappears behind the chief dramatis persona, Sheheglovitoff and Protopopoff.

Against these, on the other side, is arranged the Duma and the whole of that part of the population which supports the Duma. I have heard it said that there are no longer Lefts and Rights, but only the friends of the Duma and the opponents of the Duma, but in forming a fair estimate of the present situation it must not be forgotten that there is a large section of the population, perhaps the largest, for which the intricacies of policies have no meaning whatever. It is impossible to foresee now what action this section of the people will take regarding the unexpected news that the meeting of the Legislative Houses have been postponed for a month. It had been the general belief that the meeting of the Duma, which was expected next Thursday, would have a tremendous influence on the course of events and would show whether an attempt would be made to bridge the present gulf between the Ministry and the Duma, or whether the gulf would widen until it became impassable. The postponement of the meeting throws a settlement far into the future.

The position may be illustrated, by the story of a Russian refugee at the feeding station who, when rebuked for making a disturbance and told that no more

meals would be served that day, replied in great indignation, "I do not want it. I want talk." The Duma is talk for the nation. During the next month that safety valve will be closed.

DN January 22, 1917.

Premier's Assurances.

Petrograd, Saturday.

The news of the postponement of the re-assembly of the Duma falls like a thunderbolt, and its effects are quite incalculable in the present expectant, unquiet state of public feeling. Little more than a week ago the new Premier, Prince Nicholas Golitzin, assured the Press in the most definite matter that the Duma would not be postponed. Last night he stated that the postponement was due to "the special need of the Government to get its bearings in the present political situation and to work out a united, definite plan of action." "However," the Premier declared, "in no case will be any further postponements of the reassembly of the Legislative Houses."

DN January 22, 1917.

Russian Coup Near Riga.

Germans Surprised.

Bayonet Battle.

Assault Without Guns

Petrograd, Saturday.

I have just received details of the fighting on the Northern front from an eyewitness who has returned from Riga. The most important fighting was South- West of Lake Babit, where the Germans held a considerable salient with a very strong force of machine – guns on the hill projecting northwards into the Russian line, enabling them to bombard Shlok and to threaten the communications of the Russian forces. Step-by-step the Russians pushed westwards by Kanger and Kemmern.

Although over a hundred machine – guns were posted on the hill, the Russians took the height without artillery preparation by of flank attack, after an advance to the east. The Russians spent 18 hours in a slow, secret advance through a forest which the Germans had made into a gigantic wire entanglement. The final rush took the Germans by surprise.

The actual battle consisted almost entirely of bayonet fighting. The cold was so intense that the bodies froze as they fell, and the gray, frozen groups of the corpses, interlocked in combat, remained for several days behind the advancing Russians. As the latter pushed forward, every available man was needed to throw up defenses on the hard ground before the forest line to which the Germans were thrown back seven versts behind their original positions.

The Russian soldiers, who considered the actual trenches of the Germans inferior to their own, said: "These men do not know how to work." But the officers quarters were far better and the concrete block houses were impregnable by direct assault. They formed an interdependent position, making the Russian task extraordinarily difficult. This is the first time since 1915 that the Germans have sustained a heavy defeat on Russian soil.

The limited object of General Dimitrieff's offensive has been fully achieved. The Germans have lost all chance of cutting off the Russian right wing by an advance round the corner of Lake Babit. They stubbornly defended the three lines of trenches in the vain hope of saving the guns, which, trusting to the strength of their positions, they had brought forward. They lost the whole of their heavy artillery on the sections attacked, and their line was forced right back at the most threatening point.

DN January 26, 1917.

A Russian View.

M. Miliukoff Declares Its Influence Only Moral.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The most interesting and most valuable discussion of Mr. Wilson's speech that appears here is that of M. Miliukoff in a leading article in the "Retch." He begins by pointing out that the speech was not addressed to the diplomats, but to Mr. Wilson's fellow citizens, and indirectly to the public opinion of the world, in

which way it will undoubtedly further the interests of peace. But its influence, he adds, is purely moral, and will have no direct consequence in further diplomatic steps. He denies that Mr. Wilson's ideas are Utopian, and declares that they have even been put forward in official statements of the Allies.

M.Miliukoff suggests that Mr. Wilson's is wrong in bringing into discussion the principle of equality between parties to an international agreement and in basing on this the demand for a peace made as "equal with equal." For such an end it is absolutely necessary first to get rid of those pretensions to superiority, from which the present war actually resulted. Stalemate would be a masked victory for Germany, and by stalemate least of all could Mr. Wilson's ideals be attained.

While agreeing with Mr. Wilson's principle that no nationality should be forced to submit to another, he points out that justice would not be served by submitting the fate of a Germanised Alsace – Lorraine and Macedonia and Armenia that have been desolated by Kurds and Turks to the result of a plebiscite of the present population. He considers Mr. Wilson evasive, but not negative, on the question of Russia's demand for the Dardanelles and inquires about the freedom of approach to the sea for Hungary and for Bohemia.

O. January 28, 1917.

Russia Solid For Victory.
The Czar's Rescript.
Its Meaning And Object.

Petrograd, January 26.

Nothing during the week has shaken confidence that the Russian and Romanian troops can hold the Germans on the line of the Sereth. The Bulgarian demonstration across the southernmost branch of the Danube Delta cost the enemy all the demonstrators, who numbered a full battalion. In the north, however, the Germans are making a determined attempt to recover the ground lost during the recent Russian offensive in the Riga district. Possibly they will attempt to threaten communications of all the coast north of Lake Babit. But hitherto, though strongly supported by artillery, the Germans have not succeeded in doing more than force the Russians to give up a part of the

newly won ground. The next two days should decide whether these counter – attacks develop into a serious offensive.

The political situation has been made slightly clearer by the publication of an Imperial rescript immediately after the postponement of the meeting of the Legislative Houses. Apart from the fact that it is a return to the old procedure, this being the first such rescript since the creation of the Duma in 1905, it is of considerable interest. As it was addressed to the Premier and suggested the principal problems to be faced before the meeting of the Duma and the Council of the Empire, the rescript may be considered a manifesto repeating the Emperor's insistence on the absolute need of victory and enjoining Ministers to prepare for that victory by improving the organization of transport and supply, and further, in asking for the collaboration of all constituents of the State, it invites the confidence of the people by a special praise of the work of the Zemstvos.

Unstable Situation.

This last is important because the country had feared that the Ministry intended to interfere with the work of the Zemstvos. Perhaps it is fair to say that the immediate object of the rescript is to show that the aims of the Emperor and the Government are identical with the aims of the Duma and the people. That, however, is not the main difficulty. The situation remains unstable, because, while the Duma has expressed its belief that these aims can only be attained through collaboration between the Ministry and the Legislative Houses, it also has been said that such collaboration is impossible until certain individual Ministers are replaced by others enjoying the Dumas confidence.

Each side would like to throw the onus of a refusal to collaborate on the other. M. Protopopoff is recently said to be preparing a Bill to enlarge Jewish rights of residence. It would be difficult for the Progressive block to refuse to collaborate with him if he brought forward such a Bill, as reform of the treatment of the Jews is part of their published program. As the Right is fundamentally opposed to such reforms, such a Bill might split not only the Progressive block, but also M. Protopopoff's supporters.

This project, therefore, will probably be dropped. I mentioned it now as an example of the way in which the Ministers are seeking for some ground on which the Duma will meet the Government, while swallowing its objections to individual members.

Country On Tie-Toe.

Meanwhile Petrograd and Moscow are full of rumors and expectancy, and persons returning from the most distant provinces report that the feeling of the capital is shared by the whole country. The Budget Committee of the Duma meets next Wednesday to consider the Naval and Military Estimates. The "Retch" says that it is possible that the question will be raised whether it is worthwhile for the Committee to sit until the political crisis is settled.

In this connection the publication of Mr. Wilson's speech has given an opportunity for all sections of opinion to show their solidarity with regard to foreign politics. Mr. Wilson's speech has been received in Russia as a definite pronouncement in favor of the Allies, but is most severely criticized for the suggestion that peace can be made before a definite Allied victory. Thus concerning the war all parties in the present political crisis professed identical aims.

DN. January 29, 1917.

M. Sazonoff

Petrograd's Approval of New Appointment.

Petrograd, Sunday.

The Bureau of the Progressive block met yesterday and postponed consideration of the tactics of the Block – during the coming Session on the ground that "there is still some time before the Duma meets and in that time the political situation may change and new circumstances arise."

There is general unanimity among all parties over the appointment of M. Sazonoff to the Embassy in London, which is now officially confirmed. Even the "Novoe Vremya" recognizes that "under the present conditions it would be hard to make a more successful choice."

The "Russkaya Volya" recounts the services of Britain to the Alliance and refers to Britain's recognition of Russia's interest in the Near East. It is impossible, it says, to pass over in silence the great part played by Sir George Buchanan. "When the time comes for victorious Russia to cure her wounds and

develop her natural strength in new conditions the friendly hand of our noble Ally will be even more necessary than in the time of struggle for existence on the field of battle. With M. Sazanoff in London and Sir George Buchanan in Petrograd the further development of Anglo – Russian friendship is assured."

DN. January 30, 1917.

Russia's Latest Blow.

Threatening Enemies Pivot Near Moldavian Frontier.

Petrograd, Monday.

Although the intensity of the struggle west of Riga has not been lessened, interest has suddenly shifted to the extreme south in the Bukovina, where the Russians have broken through the defenses of all the defile between Kampolung and Jakobent. The defile is locked at the western end by the positions of Jakobent, which are among the strongest defensive works on this front. These positions on the slopes facing east are for the most part covered by forests, which have been cut down actually in front of the lines, but are preserved behind them, thus masking preparations and allowing reserves to be close to the front.

There is no means of outflanking the Jakobent positions and less on a very large scale. Jakobent lies practically due north of Dorna Vatra, and should the Russians push their success so far as to Venice this place they would have their reward in threatening what has for a long time been the pivot of the enemies movements in the northern Rumanian front here. Although inflected here might have an important repercussion along the whole unstable German line which cuts south-east across Moldavia.

O. February 4, 1917.

The Russian Recovery.

Bukovina And Riga Fighting.

Duma And The Crisis.

Scorn Of German Menace.

Petrograd, February 2.

The week on the Russian front has been marked by two considerable successes in the extreme south – west corner of Bukovina. Advancing through difficult defiles against strong German positions, the Russians twice captured over 1000 prisoners with guns and forced their way westward under fire up the slopes to the station of Jakobeni, which they hold. They have thus cut the northern line of communications to Dorna Watra and threaten to out flank that point from the north, thereby endangering the stability of an important pivot of the German advance in Moldavia. These positions, which are extremely strong, are the key to a large section of the German front, and have been the object of intermittent and heavy fighting throughout the whole Rumanian campaign.

At the other end of the Russian front, in the Riga district, although the Germans have regained most of the ground lost in the center during the Russian New Years advance, they did so at disproportionate sacrifices. It is estimated that two corps have been put out of action, including divisions which were on the way to the Rumanian front and were recalled to meet General Radky Dimitriev's offensive, as well as reserves taken from the neighboring parts of the front. The Russians retain all their gains in the direction of Tuklum, and it is believed that the central positions momentarily threatened owing to the enemy's heavy concentration of men and guns are now definitely reestablished.

With regard to internal politics the week passed quietly with fewer rumors than usual. The Budget Committee of the Duma which met to pass the estimates, on the judicious advice of the party leaders, confined itself strictly to business and made no reference to the general state of affairs, which remains unchanged.

Preparations are beginning to be made for the General Elections for the fifth Duma. The term of the fourth Duma expires in the autumn of this year. The Minister of the Interior, M. Protopopoff, has ordered an urgent examination of the voting lists to find what proportion of the electors are unable to exercise their voting powers owing to war conditions. Some interest was aroused in political circles last night by the publication in the evening paper of a letter by Count Olsufieff to the leader of the Moscow nobility concerning M. Protopopoff's interview in Stockholm last year with an alleged representative of German diplomats. This interview caused much discussion at the time. Count Olsufieff, who was an eye-witness, contradicts M. Protopopoff's version in many points, and makes the whole incident somewhat undignified, rather

childish, and absolutely, unimportant. The incident is interesting only as an illustration of the mentality of the chief actor in it.

The confirmation of M. Saronoff's appointment as Ambassador to Great Britain has called out a series of enthusiastic articles in the Russian Press, and expressions of Russian friendship for England and confidence that the two countries will be bound up together not only now, but after the war.

Finally at the end of the week comes the German announcement of merciless submarine warfare. The Russians are profoundly interested in the attitude of America. As for practical results, they review the submarine warfare of the past two years, and recall Germany's numerous declarations of terrible intentions, and conclude that she is already doing all she can. Further, they are confident that England has already taken steps to meet the threats, which they take as a new sign of Germany's desperation.

DN. February 6, 1917.

Tsar's Promise To Poland.

New Commission.

Future Relations With Russia.

Petrograd, Monday.

An Imperial Order, dated January 23, has been published today establishing a Commission to draw up a scheme for a United Poland and to define the relations between Poland and the Empire. The members of the Commission received their appointments by virtue of their offices, that is to say the Order merely name the post which entitles their occupants to sit on the Commission, but not the persons themselves, with the exception of the ex – Premier M. Goremykin, and the ex-Foreign Minister, M. Sazonoff. These acts of the members are the Prime Minister and his colleagues of the War, the interior, finance, foreign office, the presidents of the Duma and the Council of Empire, and a few others.

To understand the meaning of this it is necessary to refer to the history of the Polish question during the war. On August 14, 1914, a proclamation was issued by the then Commander – in – Chief, Grand Duke Nicholas, promising the unity of Poland, with freedom of religion and language, and self – government under the scepter of the Russian Czar. In the spring of 1915 a committee, under the

presidency of M. Goremykin, including members of both legislative houses and Polish representatives, came to no definite results. Last year, after the return of the Parliamentary delegation to the Allied countries, the Polish question was again raised. M. Basinoff drew up a project for giving wide autonomy to Poland. It was strongly opposed by M. Goremykin. Thus, in the new Commission M Sazenoff and M. Goremykin will probably cancel each other.

Meanwhile Poland is occupied by the Germans, who have introduced local government and national courts and schools. Early in November the Governor – General of Warsaw announced the decision of the German and Austrian Emperors to make an independent and constitutional monarchy of Russian Poland. Russia's replied with the declaration of her intentions to unite all the Polish lands on the principle of autonomy under the scepter of the Russian Emperor. The unification of Poland was also mentioned in the December Proclamation of the Czar to the Army and Navy. The new order states the question in different terms. There is to be a "free Poland."

The relations of a free Poland to Russia are among the questions to be discussed by the Commission now appointed. Critics point to the absence of Polish representatives and to the fact that the present presidents of the Legislative Houses cancel each other, as do M. Goremykin and M. Sazonoff. Thus it is difficult to foresee even the exact character of the Commission as a Polish Deputy puts it: "This order will at last determine the position of those Poles who are not already drawn into the orbit of the Central Empires."

DN. February 9, 1917.

Problems In Russia.

Proposed Civil Mobilization for Work on the Land.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The Petrograd Bourse reopened yesterday with prayer, followed by a speech by the Minister of Finance. Today, for the first time since it was closed at the outbreak of the war, the Bourse met for actual business. The groups of speculators who at certain hours of the day were always to be seen near the banks in the Nevsky Prospect will now return to their proper scene of activity in the big white – pillared building on Vasilievsky Island. There is general

satisfaction in the financial circles as the reestablishment of the normal state of affairs.

At the Ministry of Agriculture a special committee is working out a plan for the mobilization of certain categories of the population to make up the deficiencies of Labor during the present agricultural year. It is hoped to organize children and students into working companies. A number of heads of departments, professors, etc., interviewed on the subject by the "Bourse Gazette," were in favor of some such scheme, but for the most part they suggest that there will be no need to make such labor obligatory.

By the terms of the Constitution, the present Duma comes to an end this autumn. The question of prolonging the existence, with a view to avoiding a general election, will shortly be considered by the Ministers. Among the members of the Government only the Ministers of the Interior and of Health are in favor of a general election. Among Ministers the general opinion is that elections should only be held to fill individual vacancies as they occur. It is reported, however, that if his suggestion to build a general election is rejected the Minister of the Interior will raise the question of postponing the final decision on the subject until the present situation becomes clearer after the reassembly of the Duma and Council of the Empire.

O. February 11. 1917.

Russian Eyes On US.

Applause For President Wilson.

The Riga Battle.

Czar And The Future Of Poland.

Petrograd, February 9.

Events in the world's theater have during this week taken the eyes of Russians off their own immediate affairs. The step taken by America in reply to the German submarines thrust has caused great enthusiasm here. Everybody is discussing the possible developments and the effect of these developments on the length of the war.

The military situation is unchanged by the various small local attacks and counterattacks. There is a marked pause in the Riga struggle. The Russians

hold their gains on the right flanks; the Germans have failed to attain their objective in the center, where they set themselves the task of retaking positions on an eight – mile front between Lake Babit and the Tirul swamp. The whole operation has cost them very heavily both in guns and men, and for the last few days they have made no further efforts.

It is impossible to say whether, after a new concentration of forces, the Germans will again attempt an offensive. If so, it must be before the coming spring turns the greater part of the present place d'armes into an impassable marsh, and, releasing the Rivers Divna and Aa, widely floods their banks. After a period of severe frost the temperature today has gone up nearly 16 degrees, but the hard weather will last at least another month or six weeks.

The Russians have made good their intention of holding the enemy's advance in Romania on the line of the Sereth – and are improving their positions in Northern Rumania. I have first – hand information that the destruction of the Rumanian oil wells was far more complete than at first supposed.

The most important political event of the week is the Czar's command forming a committee to consider certain aspects of the Polish question. The actual membership of the committee does not make for easy decisions, and at present there are no Polish members. The Moderate Liberal, M. Sazonoff, who lost his place as Foreign Minister after making a scheme of limited autonomy for Poland, is balanced by the Extreme Conservative, M. Goremykin, who opposed that scheme, and the Liberal, M. Rodzianko, is balanced by the Conservative, Shoheglovitoff. Still, there is general satisfaction that such a committee has been at last formed. It is hoped that they will yet be in time to prevent the Poles from listening to Germany's offers. In one respect the Czar's words promise the Poles more than ever was promised by Germany – namely, the unity of Russian, Austrian, and German Poland. The Committee is to consider the Constitution of this re-born Polish nation and its relations to the Russian Empire.

The Liberal newspapers suggest that the Allied cause would be strengthened in Poland by a number of reforms in favor of Poles, for example, the removal of disabilities as to holding and the sale of land in the Western Provinces of Russia. But for Parliamentarians the most important point is that whatever form the final reconstitution of Poland takes, it should be granted by the nation as a whole and passed as a Bill through the Russian Legislative Houses.

Another subject of discussion during the week is the question of the prolongation of the present Duma beyond the natural term. M .Rodzianko, the President, and the majority of the Duma are decidedly in favor of prolongation in order to prevent waste of energy on election campaigns now when the war demands the whole activity of the country. I believe that the majority of Ministers are also opposed to a general election.

DN. February 13, 1917.

Arrests In Petrograd.

Working Demands Aim "to Turn Russia into a Social Democratic Republic."

Petrograd, Monday.

It is officially announced today that 11 working man, members of the Central Petrograd War Industrial Committee, have been arrested. They are accused of belonging to revolutionary organizations, of using their position to provoke industrial unrest, and of setting before themselves the ultimate aim of turning Russia into a Social Democratic Republic. It is officially stated that the arrests are justified by the results of police searches in the apartments of the accused man.

In addition to the 11 members, four other persons accused of carrying out their instructions in preparing for labor demonstrations, have also been arrested.

DN. February 14, 1917.

The Petrograd Arrests.

Discussion by Members of Duma.

Secret Decisions.

Petrograd, Tuesday.

Yesterday in the Duma lobbies the subject of chief interest was an informal Consultation between members of the Council of the Empire and of the Duma and various public men on the recent happenings in the War Industrial

Committee, of which some of the members of the workmen's group have been arrested on charges of fomenting unrest.

Representatives of the Social Democratic Party and the Labor Party took a considerable share in the Consultation and, after the liveliest discussion, conclusions were arrived at which have not been disclosed. I am told that among the workpeople there is a similar reticence.

Public opinion is not altogether surprised by events, but the people remind each other that the more radical and irreconcilable workingman had refused to take part in the election of representatives on the committee because they held that labor could not recognize the rights of capital by sharing its debates. Therefore all the workingmen members of the committee belonged to the more Moderate Party.

Only a fortnight remains till the meeting of the Legislative Houses, but the position is scarcely clearer than it was a month ago. Opinions vary widely. Some believe that the Duma will meet and be at once dissolved. Others think that it will be allowed to sit long enough to transact the most urgent business. The situation is likely to remain undefinable until it is clear how the Ministry will meet the Duma and how the mouthpiece of the nation will express national feeling.

Meanwhile credit is given to certain Ministers for a serious effort to improve existing conditions. The Minister of Ways and Communications, by temporarily limiting the passenger traffic on the southern railways, hopes to free these railways for a more even distribution of supplies. Inspectors and officials have been sent from Petrograd to superintend on the spot the loading and unloading of foods and heating materials.

In Petrograd everybody is satisfied with the results of the sugar card system and with the regulations prohibiting the sale of cakes and similar unnecessary luxuries. These regulations will probably be adopted in Moscow. On the other hand, M. Protopopoff is still Minister of the Interior, and his recent action is not likely to increase his popularity.

DN. February 16, 1917.

**Towards Unity In Russia.
Difficult Path of the Reformer.
Ministry's Critics.**

Petrograd, Thursday.

It is impossible to be very sanguine about the present political situation. Recent events, however, certainly make it less indefinite.

A leader in the "Retch" compares the Ministry to Michael Angelo hewing at a block of formless marble and giving it unity and definite intention. The comparison well illustrates the history of the last few months. Scarcely a day has passed without a change. Now falls one piece and now another, resolutely chipped off in spite of their seeming importance to the whole. Definite unity is indeed resulting. But the unpracticed carvers imitating Michael Angelo sometimes find the face they carve looking at them from the marble with quite another expression than that which they intended. For example, meetings of the traditionally Conservative organizations of the nobility in Petrograd and Moscow have severally confirmed the resolution of the General Assembly of the Nobility. With extraordinary unanimity they have decided to send their congratulations to the Legislative Houses on the day of the renewal of the sessions. Persons who resign posts under the present Ministry are immediately honored outside. As a case in point, Prince. M. Volkonsky, who left the Under –Secretaryship of Internal Affairs, was instantly elected a Marshal of the Nobility. Each blow of the chisel produces not only a depression in the material but a relief.

The rest of the labor group in the War Industrial Committee has not yet caused any disturbances in the factories, which proves that the workmen are doing their best to follow the spirit and letter of the Imperial Rescript asking for the loyal collaboration of the whole country in the work of national defense. But the committee itself denies the revolutionary character of the work of the Labor group. While admitting that in some matters the committee as a whole differed from the labor group, they declare they are in entire agreement with that group in doubting the capacity of the present Ministry.

M. Protopopoff now personally directs the Departments of the Police and the Control of the Press, and it is said he proposes an improvement in the

organization of the latter "with a view to more widely spreading in the public Press such views as would answer the intentions and purposes of the Government."

Meanwhile, the meeting of the Legislative Houses draws nearer, and the marble is undoubtedly taking more and more definite form under the blows of the mallet. Russia, from the nobility to the working folk, is unanimous, now as never before, in the determination to win the war and conquer all obstacles in the way, whether external or internal.

O. February 18, 1917.

**Russian Front Stirring.
Peoples Struggle With Reaction.
Appeal To The Czar.
Growing Support Of The Duma.**

Petrograd, February 16.

The military situation, broadly speaking, has been unchanged during the week, although the front is becoming increasingly lively, the enemy making efforts, now, here, now there, to seize opportunities to improve local positions before the spring and summer fighting begins. These efforts are costly in men and almost invariably fruitless. Only before Jakobeni, in the southwest corner of Bukovina, the Germans have forced the Russians to give way slightly, where they had been immediately threatening the Dormawtra Jakobeni Railway. A marked increase of aerial activity is manifest on both sides, due to clear weather.

The history of the week resolves itself in the history of the step taken at the instance of the Minister of the Interior, M. Protopopoff, in arresting 11 members of the Labor group of the Central Committee for Mobilized Industry, and four other persons who are alleged to have carried out their orders in stirring up trouble among the work people. This Committee which was formed after the great retreat of 1915, had opened the eyes of the public to the immediate need of the organization of all the resources of the country for the work of supplying the army. Its business was the distribution of orders and the creation of new factories. It includes members of all classes, irrespective of politics. The more irreconcilable work people refused to share in the elections

of Labor representatives from when the Labor members of the Committee were chosen.

Therefore, as the Committee points out in a document giving their views of events, the Labor group in the Committee was formed exclusively of the more moderate elements among the working classes. These, according to the Committee, were of great service in preventing Labor difficulties and misunderstandings and in improving the conditions of the work people who are engaged in Labor for the national defense.

Charge Against Labor.

The Labor group are accused of being engaged in agitation having as its ultimate aim the "turning of Russia into a Social Democratic Republic." The Committee as a whole, say that, though they are divided from the Labor group on certain questions, yet they are united with them in their estimate of the present Ministry's incapacity. When the arrests were known the work people in the factories passed a resolution which has not been divulged, but the fact that so far there have been none of the strikes which at first were feared proves that the working classes are determined to follow as far as possible the wishes of the Emperor, who asked for the friendly collaboration of the whole nation.

It is believed that there will be no trouble until the Duma reopens, although to an outside observer the recent action of the Minister of the Interior seems like the spraying of oil on smoldering embers. At an important meeting of the Special Council for Defense, at which M. Guchkoff and M. Konovaloff, representatives of the committee mobilized for industry, were present it was decided to ask the Minister of War to bring to the notice of the supreme power that the Council believe that this moment is so serious as to justify the Emperor personally in presiding at a meeting of the Council of Defense, as in 1915, when he announced he would, should circumstances arise, thus giving extreme importance to the meetings of the Council.

Duma And Ministry

Views on the meeting of the Duma are most contradictory. The direction of the sitting will probably depend on its attitude towards the ministry. At yesterday's meeting of the Right Group of the Council of the Empire it became known that on the reassembly of the Legislative Houses, the Premier, Prince Golitzin will

make a declaration not referring to the Bills to be discussed, but generally concerning this tendency of the work during the session.

Most significant of the state of public feeling is the growing support of the Duma in quarters which until recently were considered the most unlikely. When assemblies of the nobles pass resolutions and send congratulations to the Legislative Houses on the renewal of the session, it means that the Ministry is losing those sections of public opinion once the strongest support of the Government. The unpopularity of M. Protopopoff increases day by day, is welding the nation into a closer unity of front, all wishing for nothing but unhampered collaboration in the work of winning the war.

I hear that M. Sazonoff is not likely to leave Russia before Easter as he is staying to attend the meetings of the Committee on Poland which it is said are to have the direction of their Labors more clearly indicated by further instructions from above.

The food questions is engaging the serious attention of the authorities. The Minister of Agriculture returns from a tour in certain districts where he has been studying the question, which generally speaking, is one of distribution. The limitation of the passenger service on the Southern railways will improve the transport of supplies. Other measures are being considered.

DN. February 19, 1917.

Lack Of Food In Russia.

Transport Shortage Causes Distress.

No Fuel.

Moscow's Appeal To The Premier.

Petrograd, Sunday.

There are two subjects of conversation in Petrograd: What will happen for the Duma meets? What is to be done about the food question?

War has made unprecedented demands on the Russian railways, which even in peace times was scarcely adequate. To supply the front, which is never allowed to fall short, leaves an insufficient number of wagons for the supply of

the rear. This, in this huge self – supporting country, is merely a matter of distribution.

Enormous crowds of refugees from Poland and latterly from Rumania crowd the trains, and instead of spreading evenly over the country swell the populations of big cities, complicating the problem of supply. Half an hour in any big Russian railway station makes it easy to understand the spectacle, at first sight strange, of Russia, the richest country in natural resources in Europe, suffering from a lack of bread and wood, the two commodities which she was accustomed to export. That this is the case I can testify from my own experience, this being the sixth day on which I have been unable to get bread for breakfast and the third on which through lack of wood for the stove, I have considered myself lucky in the possession of a kerosene lamp and warm sheepskin coat, in which I am now writing.

The Suffering Poor.

The poorer classes are suffering, particularly in the capitals. M. Tchelnokov the Mayor of Moscow, came to Petrograd, and yesterday had a long interview with the Premier, Prince Golitzin. He declared that the prohibition of independent buying by agents, town organizations, and non-fulfillment of orders by local authorities have resulted in the shortage of wheat and rye flour. He added that unless this is corrected at once Moscow in a few days will be without bread. He further declared that owing to lack of wood warmth in centrally heated houses has already fallen to 60% of the normal condition. Wood and coal reserves are almost empty.

To supply the immediate needs without refilling the stores, M. Tchelnokov asked for 900 wagons each day. Prince Golitzin replied that he was fully informed of the present crisis in Moscow, and that the two weeks closing of passenger traffic, which has already been arranged, will make possible the almost immediate bringing of heating materials and food to Moscow: further, that in view of the seriousness of the situation he would bring M. Tchelnokov's request before an early meeting of the Council of Ministers.

In Petrograd the President of the Town Supply Commission reported to the Town Duma that insufficient and irregular transport had caused the lack of both flour and meat. It was resolved that no meat be sold in a butter week, or in the first, fourth, and last weeks of Lent. In these weeks fish of which the town has huge reserves, will be substituted for meat. The town has no reserves of wheaten flour, but a great quantity of rye flour, which is being used to tide

over the crisis. The town bakery from next Tuesday will stop making white and course bread and will bake only rye bread.

Meat Prices Raised.

The price of frozen meat will be raised to 70 kopecks (1s.4d.) per pound. Fish, however, remains cheap at 25 to 60 kopecks (6d. to 1s.2d.) per pound. There is an ample supply of potatoes. By closing passenger traffic it is hoped, said the President, that it will be possible to bring big supplies of flour to Petrograd.

Last Thursday a meeting of the Special Council of Ministers on the food question was held. Reference was made to certain districts where the need is felt, and it was decided to use in these districts reserves accumulated by their neighbors. Last Friday, under the presidency of M. Guchkov, a meeting of the Central War Industrial Committee was held on the food question. Representatives of the association of town councils took part and reported on the results of inquiries made in a number of towns. It was unanimously resolved that, if necessary, it will summon a united sitting of all the special Councils.

More Rights For Jews,

The "Russkaya Volya" announces, unofficially, that before meeting the Duma M. Protopopoff has decided to make a partial change of Jewish rights of residents and to remove restrictions imposed on Jews in respect of trade and industry, railway construction, and formation of limited companies. This will be done under the Statute which allows the Council of Ministers to pass a Bill while the Legislative Houses are not sitting. A Bill so passed becomes operative immediately, but loses its force if not brought into the Duma within two months after the next meeting of the Legislative Houses. M. Protopopoff recently instructed the heads of the Governments and districts temporarily to place no difficulties in the way of Jews of certain categories living in country places outside the pale of settlement.

This legislation aims at splitting the Progressive Block, which will find it difficult to refuse to work with the Ministry bringing in reforms which were part of their published program. The consideration of the project of the Minister of the Interior for the revision or establishment of stricter control of the activities of public organizations working for war has been postponed by the Council of Ministers till the next meeting.

DN. February 21, 1917.

"Margates Of Matchboard."

On The Edge Of The Russian Front.

The most noticeable thing about Riga is that it is so unlike Russia. Pskov, the not very distant neighbor, is one of the most Russian towns in Russia, with white churches and painted domes, and crumbling clay and boulder walls. Riga belongs to an absolutely different civilization. It is like a curious outpost of Hamburg, and in the winding streets away from the river you come on red brick towers and houses with carved lintels and windows that are written all over with the signs manual of the 18th century and of the German 18th-century at that. A Germantown in appearance, even though when the notices and the shopkeepers names are written in Russian characters, when I visited it before the war it was a town so German that, speaking Russian only, and in those days not too freely, I had the greatest difficulty in getting through my business, which was the dispatch to England of a great sack of books. I remember I was saved by a German shipping clerk who spoke English and is now probably interned. Today the town is full of Russian soldiers.

The café, at least the fashionable café, is cramped at night with officers drinking coffee or tea or iced chocolate, and listening to admirable music. There, in a good position, is a special chart reserved for a music – loving general who likes to look in now and again and listen to musicians of his own choosing, led by one of the regimental bands. Every night in Riga there is this harmless revelry, shared by men an hour or two before were listening to that other music, the battledore and shuttlecock of the continual artillery exchange that goes on away to south and west.

Why Riga is Cheerful.

Yet the town has not become a purely military center. When, long ago, there was danger lest the Russians could not hold the German advance, the town was evacuated: but, as the months went by, the inhabitants returned, and now the civil life of the place goes on as busily as ever, and many things are obtainable in the shops there that are hard to find in Petrograd. Men and women go busily about their work, and the streets are so lively and jolly that for a moment one is tempted to think that the front is far away, until one remembers that Riga is cheerful just because it is so near the front, near

enough to share sturdy absolute confidence of the men who are actually fighting and know that at last they have the measure of their enemy. Then, too, Riga has the cheerfulness of a city that is taking no inconsiderable share in the defense of itself. It is the headquarters of the Lettish battalion, made up entirely of young men of the captive Baltic Provinces, volunteers every man, and troops as good as any in the Russia army.

I drove out of Riga early in the morning, crossed the iron bridge over the Dvina, and afterwards the bridge over the As, going westwards to Kemmern and Shmarden. All along the coast in the old days before the war were famous watering places. You must not imagine the stone and brick villas of Margate, but thousands of little wooden houses. We passed through endless streets of them, little wooden houses, painted green, or blue, or pink, brown with window frames picked out in orange, or orange with window frames picked out in brown. These Margates made of the matchboard are all deserted and empty. The bright paints are fading and cracked. The little gardens, each with the summer – houses have become wildernesses mercifully hidden by the snow. Here and there a shop that once sold spades and buckets is turned into a booth for the supply of necessities to troops going to and fro. Here and there one of the larger villas, wooden, of course, and painted in the approved taste, has become a clearinghouse for wounded, a feeding station, or the headquarters of a Red Cross or divisional staff. It was odd to think of the time before the war, when in summer the place was crowded with German business folk, and Herr Baedeker could write with quiet insolence: "Among the visitors are many Russians." There are none but Russian visitors now, and they wear sheepskin coats, and felt boots and fur hats, and carry rifles and cartridges. Machine – gunners were training their recruits, firing at the leaden waters, where once were bathing parties.

The Proximity of War.

A little further and there was more than cracked paint and neglected gardens to show the proximity of war. Here the Germans had actually been and then been driven back. The little wooden villas seem so frail that when you see the row of them cracked like egg – shells it is difficult to believe that war has done it and not some puff of wind a little stronger than ordinary. There was no longer a window to be seen, nothing but staring gaps, through which I caught glimpses of utterly dismantled rooms. The ornamental doorposts of "Mon Plaisir" prop up a machine-gun embrasure. The lilac painted beams of "Mon Plaisir" have long ago been stuffed bit by bit into the greedy little grate of a field kitchen, round which, not a mile away, men gather in the snow to fill their

pannikins with soup. We passed along the line of transport, little rough carts and sledges plodding steadily westwards. Then the funeral of an officer, soldiers behind the bier, half a dozen Cossacks riding as a guard of honor. Then we passed a company going to the trenches, and met a company returning, both singing deep-throatedly along the white road, which now, leaving the houses behind, turned southwards through half – felled forest. We twisted across a railway, left the car in a small clearing, and in five minutes were in sight of the new lines of the Germans.

Where the line disappeared into the trees of thin thread of blue smoke showed up picnic underground. "Boiling tea; finds it cold." said a grinning soldier. Out of sight to the left was Shluk, which at last the Germans can no longer bombard, the last Russian offensive having seized every gun on the sector opposed to it, and brought them back, thirty together, through the rejoicing little town that had suffered from them. Here the Germans had been driven back earlier, and will be driven back again. As I walked through the strong timber – built trenches earth-fronted (for they are listed above the level of the frozen swamp) and saw the keen faces of the men at the loopholes, and heard the sudden sigh of Christmas presents passing overhead, are remembered Herr Baedeker again. The Germans have brought their horrid game almost to Riga, but, "among the visitors are many Russians," and the Russian visitors to the old holiday suburbs have shown they, too, can play that game, and more than hold their own.

DN. February 28, 1917.

Tension In Russia.

Quiet Proceedings at Reassembling of Duma and Council of Empire.

Petrograd, Monday.

The day before the meeting of the Duma has been reached without the demonstrations, and there is reason for hoping that, in spite of determined efforts on the part of those who wanted trouble of that kind, the workpeople clearly understand the situation and will not play into the hands of their enemies and the enemies of the Duma by taking part in manifestations.

The "Kopefka," the newspapers universally friend by the workpeople, comes out today with a simply – worded leader saying that the voice of the Duma has

declared against demonstrations, and that the workers should be guided by that voice. In all the factories notices have been posted pointing out that strikes are undesirable at the present moment, and that agitation in that direction is merely provocative.

M.Milinkoff's letter and the proclamation of the Military Governor have also had a good effect. Still there will be general relief if tomorrow passes off quietly.

DN. March 5, 1917.

Divided Forces In Russia.

Grave Warning by M. Miliukoff.

Democratic England As A Model.

Petrograd, Saturday.

It was expected that the political struggle would reach its critical point on Tuesday, when the Duma met. But thanks to M. Miliukoff's letter and to the good sense of the workpeople, who realized in time that disorder would play into the hands of their political enemies, the day passed comparatively quietly.

The protest was left by the populace to the Duma, and on Tuesday it did not seem that the Duma could protest in any very effective manner. The Premier, Prince Golitzin, was present, but though he was meeting the house for the first time he made no declarations.

The only speech that attracted attention was that of the Social Democrat , M. Shkheidzn who roundly accused the Duma of being a bourgeois institution incapable of understanding the workpeople. But as a whole the impression was that the Duma was not rising to the heights demanded by the situation. The general impression of the first day was unreal and indefinite.

It was not until evening that it became known that in the Upper House the relations between Parliament and authority had been illustrated in a far more decisive fashion. There M. Steheglovitoff, the new Extreme Right President of the Council of the Empire, had lost no time in showing his attitude towards the House. Professor Grimm wished to make a declaration outside the Order of the

Day, and when, according to the rules, M. Grimm, backed by 10 members, asked for the question to be submitted to ballot, M. Steheglovitoff refused, whereupon all the Left and a great part of the Center of the House walked out. Some of the Center returned later to take part in the ordinary business after having made their protest, but the Left remained away.

Right Groups Protest.

Even more significant was the meeting next day of the Right Group of the Council of the Empire under M. Trepoff, when it was decided that M. Steheglovitoff had acted illegally in refusing to allow the question to be put by ballot. That is to say, that on the first day of the reassembling of the Houses the President of the Upper House has succeeded in ranging against himself the whole of the House over which he presides.

Next day in the Duma the speakers came nearer to the tone demanded by the moment. M Miliukoff made one of the greatest speeches of his life, describing the relations between the country and the Government, reminding the House now of a crisis of the war when Russia should be united in effort she was divided by a struggle against untrustworthy elements in her own Government. He quoted the words of Mr. Lloyd George to the workers: "You represent one of the greatest forces in the country. With you victory is assured. Without you our work is in vain. This war is a war of technique: that is to say, of war between workers."

He went on to compare the attitude of the English Ministers towards the workers with that of the Russian Government in arresting the Labor group of the War Industrial Committee. He ended a powerful speech with the words: "If, indeed, the idea gathered strength in the country that with the present Government Russia cannot win, then she must win without the Government, and then she will."

Herve's Doctrine.

M. Kerensky spoke in the name of the Labor Party. In the course of an extremely serious speech he said, "We are living through a time of disorder unexampled in the life of our country, besides which the disturbances of 1913 seem a children's fairytale." He referred to M. Gustave Herve, who, in his pacifist days, recommended a general strike in case of war, thus disorganizing transport supply, etc. "Here in Russia," he said, "such disorganization as was

once preached by M. Herve is actually produced, but by Ministers instead of by a strike."

At the end of the sitting the question of the arrest of the Labor members of the War Industrial Committee was definitely raised and will probably be discussed today. It cannot be said that the tension of the situation is in any way lessened, although there is certainly a feeling of relief that the feared disorders have been avoided, and that Parliament is sitting.

DN; March 10, 1917.

German Prisoners In 1917

Petrograd.

The facts in this article are collected by Sergeant — major Tupin of the Lettish Rifles — a small, sturdily — built enthusiast for war, who visited me in Riga. I have before me a mass of his correspondence, partially printed, partially in manuscript, and, dodging warily from gasconade to gasconade. I want to extract his impressions of the German soldier as he is this year — a very different man, according to Sergeant — major Tupin, from the German soldier who, through the better part of two years of war, believed he had the world like a football at his feet.

Sergeant -major Tupin refers without undue emphasis to the killing of their prisoners by the Germans. He wonders at their sacrificing the greater pleasures of collection. "It is far more delightful and less Laborious to keep them and talk with them after the battle. Indeed, that is a valuable delight."

The Changing Year

He paints a little picture of the snow, the bonfire made to lift the poisonous gas from the ground, the reserve company warming themselves at the fire, tea drinking in the dugout, and the prisoners being rounded up for inspection. The sergeant — major sets down his glass of tea and steps outside to the group about the bonfire to enjoy his prisoners. He rubs his hands. "See," he writes, "there stands a miserable looking German, shaking all over, not yet quite sure that he

is alive. To look at him you would never think that he had struck to his rifle and gone on shooting to the last minute."

You observe the sergeant — major is not one to refuse to honor to his country. But he remembers that a year ago Germans were very rarely captured; always fought to the last minute. Knowing German perfectly he talks now with one and now with another, hearing from all the same tale of insufficiency of food. He turns out the pockets of a wretched little old man. "Never in my life have I seen such a miserable soldier. In his pocket were a scrap of stale bread, a little bit of string, and a gnawed pencil."

In The Trenches.

The Russians found provisions in the German trenches, not much, it is true, but still, provisions. "How was that?" asked the sergeant — major, and the grey — coated figures about him ("decently clothes," he says, "though far too lightly") explained that these provisions were for a holiday, and that they were at that moment actually hungry. "It's always like that," he says. "The first thing the prisoners asked for, as soon as they realize that they are not going to be killed, is something to eat." Also it seems they have very little tobacco. Even the spirit discipline is not enough to prevent them from breaking into their "iron rations".

A little old private, in peace time a village schoolteacher, said he had seen what it was like in the rear. "There is nothing to eat at all." "They look for peace," says the sergeant — major, "as man with empty stomachs look forward to a full meal. In this notebook of a noncommissioned officer were three words written on the day of his capture: "The bitter, cheerless war has sickened us.. The Kaiser offers peace and our enemies laugh. Back of everything. God knows what the future will bring us." Says the sergeant — major: "we poured them out bowls of cabbage soup with meat. They throw themselves upon it like hungry dogs and boiling as it was, had gulped the lot in a moment."

O. March 11, 1917.

The Food Problem In Russia. Steps To Meet The Crisis.

Petrograd, March 9.

The main interest of Petrograd and Moscow is centered in the food question. The essential facts may be broadly stated thus: In Russia the South supplies

the North with both food and fuel, that is to say, the main lines of supply of the civilians cut across the main lines of the supply of armies, which naturally come first. The armies hitherto have been admirably fed, and no one was surprised at today's Imperial rescript, particularly thanking Stationmaster Herbel for the successes with which this work had been conducted in the south and west.

But the great consuming centers, Moscow and Petrograd, came gradually to feel the pinch, due partly to over strain of the limited transport and partly to other causes, which are now the subject of a lively discussion in the Duma. Although an actual split in the Progressive Block is not yet seriously threatened, there is a noticeable difference between the Right and the Left sections of the Block in the attitude taken towards the Minister of Agriculture over the food question. The Left is entirely hostile, and the Right, while not saying that he has made no mistake, is inclined to give him credit for his energy, and, while not liking the instrument, is willing to use it in improving as far as possible the existing situation.

The Minister today was supported by a peasant member, who attributed the present shortage of corn to the existence of low fixed prices, whereas the prices of implements in which there was also a shortage were not fixed. "Under such conditions," he said, "villages will sow only what is necessary for our own subsistence. Fields assuredly will not be sown. This certainly is one reason for the shortage; others are lack of Labor and the fact that the Army consumes per head what the peasants who compose it did before the war.

Various steps are being taken to relieve the immediate crisis in the big towns. The limitation of passenger traffic and so – called goods will probably be extended for a month. The object was to bring first of fuel and then food. The usefulness of this measure has been already proved, although, owing to heavy snowstorms in the far south and the extreme cold – this being the coldest February for generations – there have been unprecedented requirements of fuel, with the result that food is only now beginning to come in. The extension of the period, it is therefore hoped, will relieve the situation. It has also been decided to issue bread tickets in Moscow, probably also in Petrograd, where sugar tickets have worked admirably. Also probable is the introduction of a uniform standard flour.

O. March 11, 1917.

The Russian Stroke.

Petrograd, March 9.

The week has witnessed first fruits of the Russian winter preparation for a final settlement with Turkey and Persia.

Acting in close coordination with the British advance on the Tigris, the Russians struck suddenly north, west, and south of the Hamadan, and, seizing that town, pushed on with such energy that the Turks were prevented from making an effective resistance even on the Assadabad Pass, which is the strongest defensive position on the road to Kermanshah. Already the Russians are more than half-way between Hanador and Kermanshah. The Persian group, Halila Pasha's forces, which, like the Tigris group, is based on Baghdad, sees its retreat threatened by the rapid advance of the British, and will soon be in a desperate position.

Great satisfaction is felt here at the Russo-British move, for it is fully recognize that the reduction of Turkey is a necessary step towards the successful finish of the war.

DN. March 12, 1917.

Bread Crisis.

Baker's Shops Destroyed by Crowds.

Petrograd, Friday.(Delayed in transmission.)

In the streets this morning a new notice by General Khabalov, commanding the Petrograd military district, was posted: It read: For the last few days the supply of flour in the bakeries for baking bread in Petrograd is the same amount as formerly. There should be no lack of bread for sale. If in certain shops there is an insufficiency that is because many fearing the shortage have bought reserves to turn into rusks. There is a sufficient supply of rye flour in Petrograd. Supplies of this flour arriving continually.

Later.

A number of causes working together brought the crisis momentarily to a head, though I do not personally believe there can be serious trouble while the Duma is sitting. A number of baker's shops were destroyed, and at others crowds seized the bread from those who had succeeded in buying it. The crowd last night broke the windows of a factory because the workers refused to strike.

The methods of the Cossacks as I saw them this afternoon are to make a cordon with their horses at the opposite ends of the street. Meanwhile other groups ride through the crowd. The feeling of the people is not hostile to the Cossacks, though they instantly resented the notion of a man who deliberately rode against a woman. For the most part the crowd was good – tempered, and there is still hope that serious conflict will be avoided. The general character of excitement is vague. Crowds were singing the National Anthem.

Saturday.

During the sitting of the Duma today it was announced that Prince Golitzin, the Premier, was calling a special conference to take measures for preventing a crisis.

At the same time trams were stopped in many places by demonstrators jumping on the cars and removing the control handles. Yet extremely good relations continued between the crowd and the Cossacks, even when these rode back and forward along the broad Nevsky Prospect pavements. The crowds often cheered the soldiers, thus giving the lie to those who tried to pretend that they were hostile to the war. Both the "Marseillaise" and the National Anthem were sung. At night the whole town was quiet.

At 9 o'clock at night the special conference met in the Marie Palace. Those present were Presidents, Vice – Presidents, and Secretaries of the Duma and Council of the Empire, the Ministers of Agriculture, War, Commerce, Marine, Ways and Communication, the Mayor of Petrograd, and the President of the Petrograd provincial Zemstov. M. Protopopoff, the Minister of the Interior, and as such the Minister most directly concerned, was not present. Indeed he was not invited.

DN. March 16-1, 1917

**Duma's Warning To The Czar.
Cossacks Refused to Fire on the People.
Police Drop Bombs On Crowd.**

Petrograd, Tuesday.

I have been day and night in the streets for the last three days, and seen long queues of hungry men, women, and children at the bakers, seen wanton firing with rifles and machine – guns, seen civil war in the main thoroughfares, but I have not heard a single word against the war. The shortage of food, lack of organization, and neglect of the most elementary precautions are popularly ascribed to German influences. The word "provocation" was on all lips. These influences the Russians are resolved to exterminate.

On Saturday I drove slowly along the Nevsky Prospect through crowds numbering tens of thousands, intermingled with cavalry, Cossacks, and patrols of infantry, with fixed bayonets.

Orders were suddenly given to use rifles and machine – guns. The garden in front of the Kazan Cathedral was packed when a large force of Cossacks came up. All kneeled and the Cossacks did not fire. Several of the police, including a high official, were shot. The resentment of the people was directed especially against the police for it had become known that a considerable proportion of the troops had already refused to fire.

On Sunday some of the police sent to assist the military fired on the people, to the great indignation of the soldiery. Sunday was a repetition of Saturday on a more extensive scale in various quarters of the town. On Sunday night a secret meeting of the Duma was convened for Monday

The first thing on Monday morning several Guards Regiments declared for the people, and some officers were killed. The Litovsky Regiment refused to fire, and the Volynsky, Parlovsky, Preobrajensky, Simeonoffsky, Keksholmsky, and other Guards, altogether 25,000 men, joined their comrades with the their arms. The Arsenal, the artillery headquarters, was taken and the commandant killed.

Colonel Knox, the British Military Attaché, who was at the Arsenal at the time, was escorted to the British Embassy by a guard. The fortress of Saints Peter and Paul was also entered and the prison was opened. The fortress is now the headquarters of the revolutionary forces.

Final Appeals To The Czar.

Thousands of soldiers in the streets leading to the Duma fraternize with the people. The members arrived at the Duma building to find the Imperial rescript suspending the sittings to "not later in the middle of April." The party leaders resolved not to disperse, and the Duma held an historic sitting, as a result of which M. Rodzianko telegraphed to the Czar as follows:

The position is serious. Anarchy prevails in the capital. The Government is paralyzed. The transport of provisions and fuel is completely disorganized. The general dissatisfaction is increasing. There is disorderly firing in the streets. The troops are firing at each other. It is necessary and immediately to charge a person enjoying the confidence of the country to form a new Government. Delay is impossible. Any delay means death. Pray God that this may be our responsibility, and that it may not fall on a crowned head.

M. Rodzianko also wired the text of the foregoing message to the Chief of Staff, General Alexeieff, and the commanding generals at the front, asking them to use their influence with the Emperor in support of the Duma's appeal.

General Brusiloff replied: "Your telegram received. I have fulfilled my duty to my Czar and my country."

General Russky replied: "Your telegram received. I have carried out your request."

Later, M. Rodzianko sent a second telegram to the Czar as follows:

The situation is becoming worse. Measures must be taken immediately for tomorrow it may be too late. The last hour has arrived when the fate of the country and the dynasty is being decided.

DN. March 16-2, 1917.

Troops Kill Their Officers.

Admiralty Besieged and Taken on Tuesday.

Petrograd, Thursday.

The revolution, which began in disorders deliberately provoked by the police and the old Ministry of the Interior, definitely began on Sunday, when the first troops passed over to the side of the people. By Monday four regiments were on the side of the revolutionaries. Other regiments joined in one by one, and in a few cases killing their officers.

The first Regiment to come in was the Litorsky, whose overcoats had been worn by the police on the previous day, with a view of persuading the people that the soldiers were against them. On Monday I tried to get to the Duma, but was held up by the battle on the Liteini Prospect, one of the chief streets. I saw soldiers going over and handing their rifles to the crowd. The battle moved towards the river after the capture of the Arsenal, of the District Courts, and prison. The arrested Labor members were liberated.

The New Government.

By Imperial ukase signed on Saturday, the Duma had been dissolved, but continued sitting in private, and formed a temporary Executive Committee composed of M M. Rodzianko (the President), Shidlovsky, Miliukov, Kerensky (Labor), Shulgin (Left Nationalist), Dimitrioskov (Secretary of the Duma), Vladimir Lvov, Chkheidza (Social Democrat), Shingarev (Cadet), Karaulov, Konovalov (Vice – president of the War Industrial Committee), Rjevsky, Nekrasov, and after the capitulation of the Peter and Paul Fortress, Colonel Engelhardt.

The battle for Petrograd proceeded in fairly orderly fashion. All the members of the old Government were arrested. M. Protopopoff gave himself up to a student. As the regiments sent to restore order arrived at Petrograd they marched to the Duma and put themselves at the disposal of M. Rodzianko. The soldiers attitude towards the officers was polite, firm, and not unfriendly.

Prison Ablaze.

I witnessed the siege of the prison, which is still burning. On Monday night a party of 13 generals of the old regime got into the Admiralty with a number of police, and there were besieged. They were ordering the issue of notices to be printed telling the people to go home. However the Admiralty was taken at 4 o'clock on Tuesday.

Red flags were hung out from the spire. Red flags also flew on the Peter and Paul Fortress and on all public buildings. Mortars for all commandeered by the revolutionaries and dashed through the streets with armed soldiers or sailors lying with rifles ready on the mud guards of the front wheels. Each car flew the red flag. Lorries carried troops were needed.

Yesterday with difficulty I got to the Duma through dense crowds and fresh regiments of soldiers waiting to go there. I got in and found the main hall piled with ammunition, sacks of flour, and machine guns.

Soldiers, sailors, and officers are everywhere waiting for safe conducts from the Provisional Committee. The "Labor Marseillaise" is being played in the streets. I have been all over the town, and can say that order is being definitely restored. The Provisional Committee is strongly in favor of carrying the war to a successful end, and so are the great masses of the people.

DN. March 17, 1917.

"The Despot."

To be Deposed, says new Foreign Secretary.

Petrograd, Friday.

M. Miliukoff announced the list of new Ministers in a speech in the Catherine Hall of the Duma, and was finally carried out on the shoulders of an enthusiastic crowd. His speech was often interrupted by questions, and he was repeatedly asked for the program. He said: "I can already tell you the most important points." (A Voice: "Dynasty.") "You ask about the dynasty. I know beforehand that my answer will not please all of you. But I give it. The old despot who brought Russia to the edge of disaster will voluntarily abdicate, or be deposed. (Applause.)

"The Government will pass to a Regent, the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch." (Continuous row and applause. "The Heir, Alexis, the Tsarevitch--(Yells, ' But that is the old dynasty.') Yes, gentlemen, that is the old dynasty, which perhaps you do not like and which perhaps I dislike myself."

He explained the need of an immediate decision on the form of government.

A Constitutional Monarchy.

"We propose a Parliamentary Constitutional Monarchy. Perhaps others have different views, but if we stopped to discuss instead of instantly deciding Russia will find herself in the state of civil war, and the destroyed regime will be reborn."

Thursday Night.

This evening the town is comparatively quiet. The Temporary Committee of the Duma is doing its best to hasten the reestablishment of normal life and normal business of the country. Recognition of the Duma's authority has come from all parts of the country as well as from the English and the French Ambassadors.

A new Chief of Police has been appointed, the post is again working and yellow post cars which on Wednesday carried machine guns now carry mailbags. M. Bublikoff is dealing energetically with transport. He has established normal train service, and with the help of the provinces will soon increase the Petrograd coal supplies, and thus the possibilities of work in the factories.

Free Newspaper.

A general meeting of the Association of Russian editors has decided against the renewal of newspapers, with a view of preventing the spreading of fantastic rumors which might harm the common cause. Therefore only one newspaper is issued twice a day. It is distributed free edited by a committee of Petrograd journalists, whose rooms are in the Duma building. A Bill for a complete amnesty for political offenders is being worked out by the Commissioners of Justice.

The ex-Minister of War, Sukhomlinoff, was brought to the Duma on Wednesday night. The soldiers wished to lynch him, but were restrained by their own leaders, and were satisfied with the removal of his epaulets. Sukhomlinoff himself took a pair of scissors from his pocket and deliberately cut the epaulets from his overcoat. Goremykin is also under arrest in the Duma building.

On Wednesday night I went out and saw a most picturesque sight. Armored cars originally brought to Petrograd to be used against the people were directing searchlights on the roofs and bombarding places from which the remaining police were still firing with rifles and machine guns. The night was quiet. Three days have been enough for the complete success of the revolution.

In the rooms the police have been found quantities of food, which is a significant comment on the statement that the provisioning of the town was in the hands of the Chief of Police. Some policemen even had live hens in the rooms.

Many extraordinary incidents were witnessed. A train full of troops from Krasnoe Selo arrived at Petrograd, and civilians were ordered from the station. A mass of soldiers outside saw ten machine guns brought out by officers and trained on troops and civilians who scattered. The officers then went back into the station, and when the troops came out it was seen that every man was wearing the red ribbon of the revolution. These troops had come to join in the revolution – officers and all – but not knowing whether they would meet friends or enemies outside the station they first trained the guns on the crawl.

All Government buildings are displaying red flags.

Wednesday Night.

Last Friday the Nevsky Prospect was full of people who had come out to see the others make disturbances. Women and girls, mostly well-dressed, were enjoying the excitement. It was like a Bank Holiday, with thunder in the air. But everywhere there were Cossacks and mounted police, and it was evident something might happen any minute. A man was thrown over the bridge on to the frozen Moika Canal. The incident caused the crowd to thicken at this spot.

Suddenly people began running. Cossacks were seen. The crowd cheered the Cossacks who laughed back. A woman shouted, "Go for the police, not for us." A Cossack replied: "We shall settle accounts with the police later."

On Sunday about 200 people were killed and wounded. The local police Chief is lying dead in this house. The commander of the military district issued a new notice forbidding gatherings, and threatening that the soldiers would use their weapons and "stop at nothing to restore order."

It was on Sunday afternoon when the revolution definitely began. Police disguised in the overcoats of the Litovsky Regiment fired on the crowd. The Litovsky Regiment went over to the people, and those who provoked

the disorders were soon getting more than they wanted. The streets near the Duma were held by the people and soldiers who had joined them.

Small boys with soldiers' rifles were firing at pigeons in the streets. Huge quantities of ammunition were wasted in joy shots in the air.

"Long Live England!"

"For the people or against the people?" I was asked, with a revolver pointed at my face. I replied that I was English. "Long live England!" shouted the man, and galloped on.

I had a narrow escape from a hand grenade, which was dropped from a roof and exploded in front of me. I was twice stopped by revolutionary patrols. I found heavy fire going on up and down my street.

O. March 18, 1917.

Phases of the Revolt.

Rejoining At The Front.

The Siege Of The Admiralty.

Prisons Broken Open.

Petrograd, Friday night.

Since last Sunday there has been accomplished the greatest revolution of the last hundred years, perhaps in the history of Europe. Beginning with the disorders provoked to serve the ends of the old Ministry of the Interior, the revolt in the capital swiftly spread, and it now embraces practically all the great centers in Russia. The news has been received with joy at the front.

The revolt began on Sunday, the main struggle was on Monday, and the issue was decided on Tuesday. Order was partially reestablished on Wednesday, and today success is clean and complete, and is threatened only by possible disagreement between the Duma Committee and the extreme party.

The first troops that passed over to the side of the people occupied the streets round the Duma. When this body received the order of dissolution signed by the Emperor on Saturday it disregarded it and elected a Committee for the temporary government of the country. In the workmen's quarters the troops also passed over. Troops sent to quell disorders similarly joined the people, and the popular forces, gathering strength, soon persuaded, peaceably or by bombardment, all the other troops in the town, including those in the naval barracks, to join them. Even the fortress signified its submission and hung out a red flag.

Victory Complete.

For one night and half a day the Admiralty was besieged. There 13 generals had taken refuge with the guard of police, who fired with the machine gun from the spire. The capture of this stronghold completed the popular victory.

The prisons were broken open and in some cases burned, and the prisoners freed. All motors were commandeered and fitted with red flags and armed with guards.

Hitherto the revolution had been comparatively bloodless, in spite of the determined resistance of the police, who, hidden in garrets with machine guns, were reduced one by one.

The members of the old Government were placed under arrest in the Dumas building, including M .Protopopoff, who gave himself up.

Troops sent to Petrograd by the old authorities marched straight from the station and put themselves at the disposal of the Duma.

Kronstadt signified its agreement with Petrograd. Kharoff and Moscow did the same. The temporary Committee of the Duma appointed commissioners to carry on the work of each Ministry. Railway communication has been already established and the posts are working.

In town itself all communications is still by foot because the tramways are not working, although undamaged, and because the sledge – drivers do not yet like to drive on the streets where shots from roofs were frequent till this morning.

Scene In The Duma.

I was in the Duma yesterday. The main hall was piled with sacks of munitions, machine guns, etc., and soldiers and sailors were everywhere. Outside were strong guards of soldiers, and fresh regiments were continually coming up to offer submission to the new Government, and were received with eloquent speeches by M. Rodzianko, M. Milinkoff, M. Kerensky, and others. The Marseillais was played in the street outside.

For England naturally the great question is: How will the revolution affect the war? It is difficult to say that opinion is unanimous. A party exists definitely opposed to war, but the soldiers and sailors, and particularly the non-commissioned officers and officers, say, "We have at last beaten the Germans in our midst. Now we shall beat them in the field."

If the Duma Government is undisturbed by internal disagreement I believe that the revolution will enormously help the cause of the Allies. All the best organizers of Russia are on the side of the revolution. The Zemstvo and municipal organizations of Moscow have not ceased working for the war even for a single day.

DN. March 19, 1917.

**Order In Petrograd.
Old Gang's Final Efforts to Stem the Tide.**

Petrograd, Saturday.

Yesterday I again walked all around Petrograd, it's outskirts, and the working quarters – about 20 miles in all. The streets were still crowded, but fewer

citizens were striding about using swords as walking sticks. There was practically no firing, soldiers, sailors, and the newly – constituted citizen police keeping admirable order. Cars distributed free newspapers even in the out – skirts. The people gathered in groups when anyone who could read and had a loud voice read the whole paper. Small groups of people were everywhere listening to agitators. This agitation is often obviously of German origin.

Women tell them that there has been a similar revolution in Berlin, and that the Kaiser is dead or arrested. The Duma is contradicting lies, which are obviously set about in the German interest. People, however, do not take these reports seriously. Sailors in particular laugh at them. Still the agitation goes on. Among the less educated this may have a dangerous effect. Soldiers and sailors show their dislike of disorder, and hooligans who break shop windows are swiftly dealt with. The trams are not yet running. In the course of my walk I saw two ??? sledges, which were loudly cheered.

Ivanoff's Attempt.

Among the picturesque incidents was the attempt of the aged General Ivanoff to hold back the course of events by bringing a trainload of soldiers and officers to Petrograd. All the company had received the St. George's Cross for bravery in the field, and with the old the loyalist general started from Mogilev. Ivanoff caused some chaos in the railway system by compelling them to go as far as Vyritay. Here, however, the hopeless attempt was given up, and the train returned.

News of the Czar's abdication has now been published throughout the Army and the Fleet. It was signed at Pakoff, after which the ex-Czar went to Dvinak, finally returning to headquarters. General Brusiloff, although he replied to the Dumas telegram announcing the event, did not officially recognize the new Government till six o'clock on Thursday evening, when he gave leave for the publication of the telegrams from Petrograd. Until then all had been detained. Thus the Kieff newspapers received the news only on Friday at 2 o'clock in the morning.

As late as Wednesday the editor of a newspaper in Kharkoff was fined £300 for publishing the news of the election of the Executive Committee by the Duma. The local censors declared that the telegrams announcing the revolution in Petrograd were false. Now practically the whole of Western Russia adheres to the new Government, and the news of the Czar's abdication will swiftly unite the whole country.

Socialist Attitude.

[Most of the First Two Paragraphs Unreadable.]

conference intended to take an active part in the organization of the people by continuing their share in the Council of the Working Men's and Soldiers Deputies, in the creation of peasant councils and other associations for the protection of the interests of the people. Finally, while supporting the temporary Government in carrying out its program the conference of Socialist revolutionaries consider it necessary to prepare for a Constituent Assembly by energetic Republican propaganda.

Special arrangements have been made by telegraph for a train to bring Prince Oldenburgsky to Petrograd. He is very popular with the people here, and founder of the People's Theater. He entertained the men of Admiral Beatty's squadron when they visited Russia in 1914.

DN. March 20. 1917.

**Russia's Days Of Joy
Men Call Each Other "Comrade."
New Tone of the Public Press.
A War Dance of Jubilation.**

**The New Petrograd.
City Enjoying Delights of Freedom.**

Petrograd, Sunday.

It is impossible for people who have not lived here to know with what joy we now write of the new Russian Government. Only those who know how things were but a week ago can understand the enthusiasm of us who have seen the miracle take place before our eyes. We knew how Russia worked for war in spite of her Government. We could not tell the truth. It is as if honesty had returned.

Today newspapers have reappeared, and their tone and even form are so joyful that it is hard to recognize them. They are so different from the censor –ridden mutes and unhappy things of a week ago. Every paper seems to be executing a war – dance of joy. The front pages bear such phrases as "Long live the Republic," "Long live free Russia."

The organization of the gigantic general election which must take place later will naturally take time. Meanwhile Russia will find her own mind, and I have no doubt the decision will be worthy of the revolution which made it possible.

Let there be no mistake in England. This was not an organized revolution. It will be impossible to make a statue in memory of its organizer – unless it be a statue representing a simple Russian peasant soldier. The Russian peasant educated by nearly three years of war, goaded purposely into action, showed himself stronger than his own oppressors believed, and the few simple soldiers in Petrograd who refused to fire on their fellows struck in two days the fetters from their nation. This is far and away the greatest victory over Prussianism gained in this war.

Returning from the Dumas today I met a steady marching crowd singing an all peasant song. I thought it was a demonstration, and I found the men to be new recruits called to the colors. I saw a red revolutionary flag floating over the Winter Palace where the Constituent Assembly will sit. Yesterday, for the first time, the new Council of Ministers met outside the Tauric Palace which houses the Duma. Hitherto, since the formation of the new Government, members were day and night in the Duma building snatching sleep when possible on chairs and uncomfortable sofas.

Naïve Food Solution.

At the British Embassy, after the first day of the new era, there was a revolutionary guard. When I passed today I saw outside it a motor paying a friendly call, with the red flag in front. Sledges are running today in almost normal profusion. The trams will restart not later than Tuesday, though enormous falls of snow will entail considerable Labor in preparing the track. Professor Iurevitch, the new Police Chief, is taking steps to deal with unauthorized persons who pretend to belong to the Citizen Militia, but the people themselves keep order, and wait in their turns for bread and wood. Food difficulties were threatened at first, owing to the soldiers not being economists, and attempting to solve problems too simply by going into shops and ordering the shopkeepers to sell at peace time prices. Butter fell 4s. per

lb., and could be bought for a little over 1s. The Supply Commission of the Town Council has now settled maximum prices. Everywhere a tremendous effort is being made to rework the railways and other services for the common good. The number of wagons reaching Petrograd is increasing day by day.

Most representatives of the old Government have been arrested. At first they were marching through the streets and lodged in the Duma, afterwards being shifted to the Peter and Paul fortress. They drew up a petition in which, after thanking the Duma for treating them so kindly, they asked to be allowed to remain in the Duma building. This request, however, was not granted. In the Duma yesterday, walking unsteadily, as if unaccustomed to the use of their legs, were old men who have spent, some of them 20 and 30 years in the Schlusselburg fortress. Some of their old persecutors will probably take their places.

A strange sight, but not uncommon these last few days, is to see a general walking through the streets with a private soldier with a naked sword on each side of him. Swords were of all kinds, many being fantastic all weapons taken in the arsenal. A popular form of address is "Tavarish," meaning "comrade." The Minister of Justice, M Kerensky, refuses to be called "Your Excellency." He has ordered all the portraits of the Royal Family to be removed from the Ministry and has invited all the officials to cease wearing orders and decorations. The archives of the secret police are now in the hands of Bourtzeff, the famous Socialist. A number of arrested policemen collected among themselves 215 roubles, which they solemnly handed over "for the needs of the revolution."

First Fruits Of Freedom.

Prominent among the death announcements are some like the following: "Killed in the street by the Czar's police firing from ambush, Red Cross Sister Manefa Georgievna Torchovskaya, who was on leave from the front." A week ago all gatherings were forbidden. Now everywhere are announcements of gatherings of Mohammedans, Catholics, Poles, printers, watchmakers, carpenters, engineers, etc., to choose representatives. A week ago processions were forbidden, and unless organized for special purposes by the police usually ended in bloodshed. Now everywhere are little bands with their banners and mottoes of the deputations going to the Duma, so many of them that people hardly turn to look as they pass.

DN. March 21, 1917.

Russia's New Outlook.

Due To Peace Plot Of Old Regime.

Police Tactics.

Machine – Guns Ready.

Petrograd, Monday.

The revolution proper is over. The old autocracy is gone. Today, or tomorrow, the bodies of those who died for freedom will be taken from the mortuaries and varied. But the ship of the free nation sailing out under the scarlet flag has yet to pass between the rock and the whirlpool. Gradually discipline is coming back, but any attempt to hurry the return would have an opposite effect. Soldiers themselves tire of freedom in excess, and if only for weariness sake they look for the accustomed support of discipline.

Agitators are doing their best to delay this moment, but they will not succeed in delaying that long. The difficulty is that the best men have no time to agitate, so that the great bulk of the extremists and anti-war literature has no counter – balance except in the hard sense and shrewdness of the Russian people.

Of this there are many examples. An agitator addressing the crowd spoke of "Brother Germans." "For source of brother," shouted a soldier. "You've never met him," shouted another, and the agitator gave up. Talk current among the people is that Germany has been beaten in Petrograd, and that the Army will not be hampered by traitors.

The Reactionary Plot.

It is clear from telegrams from England that the people there do not realize how important the victory has been over Germany this week in Russia. Let me state the facts, which I can now do openly.

When I came to England in November it was already clear, as I told members of the then Government, that the Russian Government or at least those elements in it directly bound up with the autocracy, wish to stir up disorder here either with a view of ending the war without too serious a defeat of

German autocracy, which was their own strongest support or with a view of weakening the eventual internal struggle by bringing it to a head before the Army returned from the front after the war. It was clear even then that they counted on the coming food difficulties to help them in raising disorders of this particular kind they thought advisable.

For weeks before that unforgivable Saturday confirmation of this diagnosis of the Government aims pouring in. Policemen in Hackney sledges hugging machine guns were met at night carrying them to different parts of the town, although, as all Russia knew, machine guns were wanted at the front. All was arranged before hand. There were machine guns even in the Isaac Cathedral, besides lessons in garrets, to which, during the actual disorders, the police had no opportunity of taking them.

Politically also, Protopopoff worked to the same end by arresting Labor leaders, or closing factories with a view to forcing strikes in others. The thing was inevitable. The point is that if the revolution had not succeeded the Protopopoff party would have had their way and played into the hands of Germany. A. Protopopoff's plans turned against himself and the revolution succeeded. The position, from England's point of view, is vastly improved, because a Russian retirement from the war, instead of being inevitable has become highly improbable.

Labor Position.

It should be remembered in England that Petrograd is not Russia, and that although the revolution begun in Petrograd has embraced all Russia, disorder and agitation, the revolution were practically limited to the capital. This the wiser leaders even among the extreme Socialist, clearly realize. They dare not risk the enormous glass of Russian opinion outside Petrograd turning against them. They therefore are willing to wait for the Constituent Assembly, chosen by universal suffrage. It should further be remembered in England that the working – class in Russia exist only in centers and is quite distinct in its ideas from the great bulk of the peasant population.

Apart from the Anarchist, who received no support whatever, the Labor views are not unfairly represented by the program of the Social Democratic Labor Party who have renewed the issue of "Pravda" (Truth), there newspaper which was suppressed the week before the war began. I went round to their offices which a week ago were those of a reactionary paper, and saw soldiers, students, and girls all with red ribbons.

Socialist Program.

They want autocracy of the people, a biannual one House Parliament, payment of members, wide extension of the principle of local government, inviolability of person and dwelling (no more police searches), unlimited freedom of the press, of speech, and of assembly, freedom of movement in business (Jewish question), equal rights for all irrespective of sex, religion, and nationality, abolition of class distinction, education and native language, native language everywhere to have equal rights with official language, every nation in the State to have the right self – definition, the right of all persons to prosecute officials before a jury, election of magistrates, a citizen army instead of ordinary troops, separation of Church from State and school front Church, free compulsory education for both sexes to the age of 18, State feeding of poor children, confiscation of monastery and Church property, also that of the Royal Family, progressive income – tax, and eight hour day with six hours for all under 18, prohibition of female Labor where such is harmful to women, and finally a clear holiday once a week to consist of 12 hours on end.

For this latter reason, yesterday being Sunday, today known newspapers appeared. They recognize, however, that nothing can be settled until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. This point is in agreement with the Duma Executive Committee. The most serious question that was threatened was a split over the readiness of the Executive Committee to agree to the secession of the Grand Duke Michael. This gave the Democrats a chance of saying that the Duma Committee was trying to settle the form of Government before the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. That danger, however, has passed, and though street agitation goes on busily, most of the people feel they have had their fill of revolutionary holiday for the present, and want normal life restored.

DN. March 22, 1917.

"I Will Go To Livadia To The Gardens."

Tsar's Relief After Abdication on the Imperial Train.

General's Proposal To Let In The Germans.

Petrograd, Tuesday.

The Czar, it appears, did not receive Rodzianko's telegram when the Duma met. He was on his way to Tsarekoe Selo with his suite in two trains commanded by General Tsabel. With the Czar was the notorious Admiral Nilov Voikov and old Count Fredericks. There was much drinking, the Czar being urged to drink, for his suite feared to let him know of the happenings in Petrograd. Voikov did indeed say there were disturbances, but that four good companies of troops would put matters right.

At two in the morning when the train stopped at Visbara for water the Czar went into the dining car, and asked what was really happening. Voikov said: "A telegram has just been received that a train of 700 man with the Order of the George for valor, commanded by General Ivanoff, left Moghileff. These noble heroes are more than enough to make possible that your Majesty should go to Tsarakoe Selo. There you will find a faithful garrison, and at their head go to the Duma, where the troops will remember their allegiance, and will know how to deal with the young soldiers and revolutionaries."

A Dramatic Moment.

At this moment Tsabel came in. "All that is a lie," he said, and showed a telegram from Petrograd, signed by the commandant of the Nicholas Station, Lieutenant Grekov, ordering the Czar's train to be sent, not to Tsarekoe, but to Petrograd.

"What's this – mutiny?" cried the Czar. "Lieutenant Grekov commanding me to Petrograd?"

"Sixty thousand troops with officers were on the side of the temporary Government," replied Tsabel.

"Why tell me nothing of this before?" asked the Czar. "Why only now, when it is already too late?" Then, after a minute, he said, with quiet hopelessness, "Well, thank God, I will go to Livadia. If the people want it I will abdicate. I will go to Livadia to the gardens. I am so fond of flowers."

Tsabel rung his hands and went out. Voikov followed and ordered the train to proceed.

Meanwhile, the railway fitters had spoilt the engine of the first train. The Czar's convoy guarded the second engine, and at dawn the train moved on to Bologoe in the hopes of getting somehow to Tsarakoe. At the station another telegram

announced that the Tsarakoe garrison was on the side of the revolution. The Czar decided to go to Moscow.

"Mrozovsky told me Moscow would always be faithful," he said. Another telegram, however, announced that the whole of the Moscow garrison was on the side of the people. For some time the train went backwards and forwards between Bologoe and Dno.

A Traitor's Proposal.

At last Ivanoff arrived, and said the only hope was to go to the Army. One who was present declares that General Voikov cried out, "The only hope is to open the Minsk front to the Germans. Let German troops put things straight." Admiral Nilov protested. "Not much good. They will take Russia and not give it back." Voikov referred to the words of the traitorous Vasilchikova that Wilhelm was fighting not with Nicholas but with anti— dynastic Russia.

"Yes," said the Czar, "Rasputin often said that, when I did not listen to him. It could have been done when the Germans were before Warsaw, but I have never betrayed the Russian people."

Nicholas went on the platform very pale. Beside him staggered Nikov hopelessly drunk and singing.

"Too Late."

General Russky, in his version of the abdication, states that the Czar did not ask him to send troops to quell the revolution, "for the simple reason that I persuaded him to abdicate." When Russky received a telegram on the night of the 14th that the Czar was coming to Pakoff he was much surprised. He saw the Czar there, and soon learnt that he knew all that had happened. He did not dream of repressive measures, but said: "I am resolved to make concessions and give them a responsible Ministry." The manifesto to that effect was already signed on the table.

"I knew this measure was useless and too late ," says Russky . "I begged the Czar to talk by telegraph to Rodzianko. I succeeded in getting Rodzianko on the telephone at 3 a.m., and talked two hours. He told me the only way of for the Czar was abdication. I repeated my conversation with Rodzianko by telegraph to General Alexeieff and the Front Commanders. I went to the Czar at 10 a.m.. Meanwhile I had received replies from Alexeieff, the Grand Duke

Nicholas, Brusilloff, and others unanimously recognizing the necessity of abdication.

The Abdication.

"The Czar listened and declared he was ready to abdicate, but wished to do so in the presence of Rodzianko. At three o'clock the Czar summoned me and said he had signed the act of abdication in favor of his son. I went to dispatch the news and heard that Generals Guchkoff and Shulgin were on their way to Pakoff. The Czar was pleased at the news, hoping that it meant a change in the situation. The train arrived at ten in the evening. The Czar was restless. In spite of my orders that Guchkoff and Shulgin should be brought direct to me. Someone took them to the Czar.

"When I entered the Imperial car Guchkoff was telling the Czar the details of events. The Czar was much pained by the news that his bodyguard had gone over to the revolutionaries. He scarcely listened to the rest of the news.

"The Czar asked what he should do , and Guchkoff replied, 'Abdicate.' After a long pause the Czar replied, 'Very well. I have already signed the abdication in favor of my son, but I have now decided that as my son is not distinguished by good health and I do not wish to part with him, I will yield the throne to Michael.' "

"The Only Way."

Shulgin in his account says he was dirty, unwashed, and four days unshaved, and looked like a convict released from a burning prison when he went into the brightly – lit dining car. The Czar was in the uniform of a Caucasian regiment.

"Guchkoff began to talk, and I was afraid he would say something malicious and cruel to the Czar, but he did not. He spoke at some length, without looking at the Czar. He finished with the statement that the only way out of the situation would be the Czar's abdication in favor of his son, with Michael as Regent. General Russky leaned towards me and murmured, 'That is already settled.' The Czar spoke, and his voice and manner were simpler and more businesslike than Guchkoff's speech.

"I have fought all day yesterday and today, and have decided to abdicate," he said. 'I cannot part with my son. I hope you understand this. Therefore I've decided to abdicate in favor of my brother.'

"Then I said, 'This proposal takes us unawares. I beg leave to speak for a quarter of an hour with Guchkoff, to agree on our answer.' The Czar agreed, but the conversation quickly began again, and we swiftly yielded the point.

The Precious Document.

"It seemed to me that a slight expression of satisfaction showed in the Czar's face when Guchkoff said we had no right to interfere in paternal feelings. The Czar went into the next room, and about a quarter past eleven came to us in the dining car with several small sheets of paper in his hand.

"There is the Act of Abdication; read it," he said. We read it in a low voice. A few slight changes were made on the suggestion of the representatives of the new Government. Then there was handshaking of a hearty kind. There seemed no ill – feeling on either side. Two copies were made, and both were signed by the Czar, because in the stormy conditions of Petrograd we feared one might be lost. The first copy remained with General Russky, the second was given to us. We brought it to Petrograd, and succeeded in delivering it into the right hands. There was a moment when the document was in danger."

"Let Germany Do The Same."

I spent the day at the Duma, where deputation after deputation arrive with red flags and is received by Deputies. The situation is decidedly better, and common sense is daily asserting itself.

A workman's delegate, speaking outside the Duma to a large deputation, declared amid tremendous cheers, "Russia will hold out her hand only to a free Germany. Let them do there what we have done here. Then only can we make peace"

A wounded non-commissioned officer walk the whole way from the village of Oraish, in the government of Tver, to bring bread and salt to M. Rodziaanko, together with 60 roubles (6£), and in the name of his fellow villagers to greet in person those who fought for liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The sudden transition from tyranny to freedom naturally makes itself felt, but it is marvelous that excesses are few. As I close this telegram the first tramcar passes under my window, flying red flags of freedom.

DN March 23, 1917.

Old Regime Perfidy:

Not on page 1.

DN. March 26. 1917.

**Russian Upheaval.
Struggle Against the Forces of Reaction.
Army With The New Government.**

Petrograd, Saturday.

It had long been known that the policy of the Russian Government did not represent that of the Russian people, but not even the warmest friends of Russia could have expected the character of the people's policy to be so swiftly declared. Within a week of the formation, the temporary Government had overthrown the whole policy of two reigns with regard to Finland. It is confirmed the Finnish Constitution, which was gradually suppressed by Alexander III. and Nicholas II., given an amnesty to political offenders, promised true and free self-government, with the dearest of all desires to Finns – absolute equal rights and use of their native language. The Diet is to meet as soon as possible. The old plan was to act in authority over subject races men likely to use in their powers of repression, like, for example, the now arrested Zein.

The new plan, adopted the moment the Russian people took command of their own affairs, is that those men should occupy themselves with Finland who in the past have shown sympathy with the Finns. I remember walking in Finland with Dimitri Dimitrovitch Protopopoff, and how we talked of the

misunderstanding carefully preserved by the old Government between Finland and Russia. He is now Assistant Commissar of Finnish affairs, and must have felt that his life has not been spent in vain when it fell to his share to draw up the Act of Temporary Government guaranteeing Finnish liberties.

The Task Of Reform.

I am quite sure that within a few days Poland will similarly be guaranteed a brighter future than she could have dreamed of 10 days ago. The future of Poland will be decided by the friends of Poland and by the Poles.

Every single Minister is now engaged in the task of preparing the reforms which Russia, as distinct from her Government, has long desired. There are those who say – "First finish the war and then reconstruct." They are wrong. Russia makes her reforms at once, cleans her shield of all stains laid on it against her will by her old oppressors, and will fight with the knowledge that she fights for liberty, which every man in the Army knew would only be won at the price of revolution. Now the Army has something to fight for, and the German soldiers, seeking to bring back autocracy to Russia, will find themselves faced by a citizen Army and the citizen Ministry.

Last night in Petrograd a Duma meeting concerning the mobilization of industry was addressed by citizen Ministers. None who witnessed the scene can doubt the tremendous efforts of Russia, having shaken off her betrayers, will make for the defense of her new liberty.

German Intrigues

News travels slowly in Russia, and it is not surprising that in many places the actual facts of the revolution only became known long after it was known there were disturbances in Petrograd. The revolt of Russia against the old regime was in some places turned into a revolt of class against class, and German agents did their best to stimulate the disaster by sending mysterious supplies of spirits. In every case the arrival of delegates from the Duma put an instant stop to disorder. The moment the people knew what had happened and why they set to work to support New Russia. Everywhere echoed Deputy Tuliakov's words to the soldiers and sailors at Sevastopol, "We have conquered freedom. Shall we not defend it with triple energy and strength?"

All who knew the Russian front realized how perfectly isolated from the rest of Russia was the broad ribbon of land stretching from Riga to the Black Sea

controlled by the Army. News of the revolution spread through Russia far more swiftly than through this ribbon of war, and it has been the tremendous task of the deputies to explain to the hundred races making up the Russian Army what it is that has happened in the country 150 miles behind the front and absolutely separated from it. It is impossible to better the new orders from the temporary Government sent throughout the Army, and there is every hope that the front will not be weakened by the new discipline.

The Army's Decision.

I have personally visited the Northern, middle, and South – Western Russian fronts, and know how unanimous was the Army in the desire for reform, in the hatred of the regime which as they felt, betrayed them continually from behind their backs. Not always junior officers, but Generals spoke freely of the need of revolution, and words often heard were "After the war we will settle with all that." Well," all that has been swept away during the war, and it is unlikely that those who through the long months and years of fighting have looked forward to the revolution will allow it to weaken them now it has come. Loyalty to the Czar, strong at the beginning of the war, has been destroyed by the Czar himself and by his treacherous counselors. That staunch democrat, Radko Dimitrieff, who is loved by all his men, puts an end to a ceremony that had long become ironic by his proclamation that "God save the Czar" no longer be sung, and that until the new hymn of freedom is written, instead of asking for God's blessing on the Crown, the troops will henceforth ask a blessing for the temporary Government.

The Germans themselves are helping the new Government by preparing an attack on the Russian front, which will be resisted by Russia, united as never before, and conscious that defeat would mean the loss of her new liberty. It is safe to predict the immediate success of the new "Loan of Freedom," three million rubles, Five per Cent, at 85.

As for the continuation of the war, M. Miliukoff declares: "We must 'sit out' our enemies. Undoubtedly the forces of the enemy are being weakened in a larger proportion than are those of the Allies. Circumstances are in our favor. If discipline is preserved the situation will still further improve. We hope that by the middle of the summer it will be possible to speak definitely as to when the war will finish. In any case our confidence in the successful issue with the war has been fortified."

DN. March 27, 1917.

Russia's Future.

Big Section Favors a Republic.

Reactionaries Show Their Hand.

Petrograd, Sunday.

The mind of the Russian reactionary is curiously incapable of changes of policy, and none can be surprised at finding that the methods that produced the revolution are being desperately continued by those who wish to produce a counter revolution. These are the creation of disturbances, setting sections of the population against each other, and filling the air with vague rumors incapable either of substantiation or repudiation. Every access would be welcomed by these obstinate Machiavellians, and the moderation shown by the genuine revolutionaries has been the greatest disappointment of the reactionaries. A crowd which marched to the Dumas demanding to be allowed to lynch arrested Ministers proved to represent no Russian political party.

A Sinister List.

Among the list of agents – provocateurs in the hands of the new Government were found the names of several members of the Extremist party, who have been actively attempting to undermine the discipline of the Army and Navy and prevent unity among the revolutionaries. It is a curious list. For example, the editor of the Extremist newspaper, "Pravda," which is now active in attempts to sow discord, appears to have received 20£ monthly from the secret police department.

Reactionaries show their hand too clearly at Odessa, where they spread rumors of Jewish pogroms, arrest, and murders among the supporters of the new Government. In the midst of the resulting disquiet came wholesale prison – breaking carried out under inexplicable circumstances. As was well-known before the revolution, pogroms were almost invariably instigated by the police, and the authorities of the local committees and local Councils of Workmen Deputies had no difficulty in finding who was responsible. They arrested the Governor of the prison, the Mayor, and other persons, whereupon quiet was instantly restored. Similar attempts to stir up excesses are being made in the

country districts in the south, where the peasants are being urged to seize the stores of the local landowners and start agrarian pogroms.

Agitation Dangers.

The Odessa Council of Workmen Deputies are organizing a counter-agitation, and calling upon local organizations to assist in explaining to the peasants urgent need of the preservation of order. The worst danger from the agitators of doubtful sincerity, of course, was the possible weakening of the Army and Navy by causing slack discipline in the ranks, and by weakening the support of the forces by anti-war propaganda in the rear. This danger, I believe, has passed. A deputy of the new Government who visited the Northern front has returned full of confidence in the future. The voice of the Army rings clear in the declaration sent to the Council of Workmen Soldiers Deputies by the Maloyarunlavaky Infantry Regiment at the front:

We soldiers and officers actually under the bullets of the enemy do not wish to purchase personal safety at the price of shame and disaster for Russia. Much work lies before us. Our chief enemies are Germans and provocateurs. The rear must save us from the latter, while we save it from the former.

All Russia now knows that the German forces on the Northern front have more than doubled, and that the march on Petrograd is to be attempted with a greater concentration of troops than ever before. M. Guchoff, the War Minister, has gone to the Northern front. The new Commander – in – Chief on the Central front, Letchitzky, is famous for the great victory north of Cernovitz , which broke up the Austrian defense of Bukovina. Both he and General Russky enjoy the absolute confidence of the troops.

Colonel Knox, our military attaché, has inspected the Semenovsky Regiment, and Captain Slade has inspected the Volynsky Regiment. Both were satisfied by what they saw. The Government, in view of the disorganization caused by the old regime, which it cannot immediately put right, calls upon the population to tighten their belts for the sake of freedom. Every effort is being made so that the Army shall be properly supported when it meets the expected German blow. If that blow is successfully parried the freedom of Europe is virtually assured.

DN. March 29, 1917.

Joy of Freedom.

New Links for Russia Unbound.

New Ministers Oath.

Petrograd, Tuesday.

We must not expect Russia to settle down immediately to normal life after the revolution has lifted the yoke which had been steadily growing in weight for 300 years. Freedom for the great mass of the people means something quite indefinite, which all are in a hurry to put into definite practical shape. A fat old woman on the pavement, when politely asked to let other people pass, replied: "Freedom has come. Where I wish there I will walk," and continued down the middle of the pavement.

Freedom is like a new toy, and every one wishes to play with it. The Duma has upset the Government which was in force immediately above it. Therefore, Socialist wish to upset the Duma, which more or less controlled them. The populace upset the police which were immediately above them. Soldiers discover the possibility of controlling their officers, and peasants consider what they shall do with the landowners. Each man translates freedom as an escape from beneath his immediate superior.

Peasant Pilgrims.

Great crowds of peasants and iron – workers marched to Tolstoy's birthplace, Yasnaya Polyana, asked that Tolstoy's portrait should be brought out, and all knelt in the snow before it. People make the pilgrimage to Lisiy Nos, a wooded promontory in the Gulf of Finland, where during the last 20 years hundreds of students, boys and girls, have been hanged for holding revolutionary opinions. Forbidden national movements break into joyful flower. A great procession of Ukrainians in national costume, and with blue and yellow flags, march to the Duma no longer fearing suppression by the police. At Helsingfors the Finns choose a Coalition Government, and prepare with faith and hope unknown for nearly hundred years for the meeting of their Diet. Everywhere with the removal of police officials local self – government becomes an accomplished fact. The Caucasus, Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine, Finland, once subject to the Russian scepter, will now be bound together by the freedom by they share.

Fewer Pacifists.

Meanwhile the defense of the new – won freedom depends on a realization by the freemen of Russia and Germany threatens them with its loss. The cleft between the workers and the temporary Government is steadily shifting towards the left. The minority opposed to the war is shrinking, and is considerably discredited by the discovery among its leaders of people in the pay of the old secret police. Further lists of payments from the sacred funds published today include the newspaper "Russian Citizen," which published an attack on England; for this Bulatzel, the writer, was forced to apologize to the Ambassador.

The Germans raise placards in their trenches on the Southern front announcing: "The English have turned out your Czar." The reply consisted of bullets and cheers for England. "There is more than enough evidence to prove that the old regime wished to undermine the Anglo – Russian Alliance with a view to an alliance with Germany, to strengthen both autocracies. The revolution has confirmed our alliance.

DN. March 30, 1917.

Russia's Peasantry.

Their Political Power Under the New System of Government.

Petrograd, Thursday.

Russia's foreign policy will be one that every democracy in the world will support. All danger of a militaristic aggressive Russia has gone.

Russian peasant associations are being formed, and will have an overwhelming weight in the Constituent Assembly, as the peasants will have approximately 70% of the votes. It is probable that the Council of the Workers and Soldiers Deputies will carry the greater part of the peasants with them, in which case the democracy will be able, without the slightest effort, to restrain the imperialistic tendencies of a few politicians.

DN. March 31, 1917.

**"The Polish Nation."
Important Move By The Duma.
Pledge Of Peace.
To Settle Own Form Of Government.**

Petrograd, Thursday.

The solution of the Polish question, so far as it is soluble during the war, is likely to be attained immediately. A Committee for the liquidation of Polish affairs is being organized; which, besides Ministerial representatives, will contain representatives of Polish organizations, the Polish Society for Helping War Victims, and the Polish Committee of Moscow. Among the duties of the Committee will be the ascertaining of the State and public possessions belonging to the Kingdom of Poland, and of the care and management of them, "until they are handed over to the Polish nation."

That single phrase, in its quiet assumption that the settlement of the question will be guided by the principle of right, will do more to assure the Poles than all of the proclamations of the last 2 1/2 years. The president of the Committee is M. Lednitzky. The Committee can invite the participation of the representatives of interested departments and authorities on the subject.

When the Semenovskiy Regiment marched to the Dumas M. Tcheidze invited the soldiers to ask M. Rodzianko (the President) his opinion on the Constituent Assembly, a democratic Republic, and the land question. A soldier then made a long speech, ending by inviting his comrades not to trust either M. Rodzianko or the Duma. M. Rodzianko replied, "do not trust those who say we shall interfere with the happiness and freedom of Russia. They lie. We will do all we can so that the Russian nation shall live as it desires." M. Rodzianko's speech had a tremendous effect, and he was chaired above the heads of the soldiers.

Next the Rifle Regiment heard speeches calling them not to listen to unknown orators. This advice was almost instantly illustrated by the appearance on a balcony of an unknown woman, who made an extraordinary speech against the war. The soldiers were persuaded not to lynch her, but they insisted on her arrest.

DN. April 2, 1917.

**Russia's Dawn Of Freedom.
Royal Estates for the Nation.
War To A Victorious Finish.**

Petrograd, Saturday.

The Provisional Government pending the decisions of the Constituent Assembly declares that all appanages, lands, and other possessions of the Royal Family, as apart from the State, are to be the property of the nation. They are to remain under their present custodians, and these must be given all support by public organizations and private persons. The object of this is to prevent the destruction of valuable property by those who are impatient of seeing it still belonging to the old regime

.

In Petrograd little parties of students and workmen went round taking down the eagles and covering those that could not be removed with red cloth, so in the country the peasants are nailing scraps of red to the black – and – white eagle – topped post which mark the confines of the Imperial forest, hunting lands, etc. If half the hunting lands only are brought under cultivation there will be an enormous increase to Russia's productivity, but the Provisional Government is wisely seeking to avoid difficulties such as those which followed the liberation of the serfs, when the peasants translated the new laws in their own way, often with bloody results.

Hero Of Revolution.

It will be very difficult to avoid agrarian troubles, although urgent measures are being taken to explain to the peasants exactly what has happened and why such troubles are unnecessary. So far the position is better than was expected. Landowners who refused to surrender their stores have been beaten, but there has been small loss of life outside the towns. Agitators, however, may do infinite mischief if unchecked. They are spreading such ideas as that the Provisional Government consists only of landowners, and, among the simpler peasants, that the Government has given a king to the Finns, and that the Swedes are coming in to recover the conquests of Peter the Great. Especially difficult is the problem in Northern Russia, where the peasants

misunderstand the Governments appeal for bread, addressed mainly to the peasants of the South.

In the north the villages have scarcely enough for themselves, and the peasants are naturally anxious. The Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies is a most important factor in the situation. The Petrograd Council has already over 1300 members, and when the General Assembly of the representatives of such Councils from all over Russia meets, their decisions will have an enormous influence on the future. The crowd, at first too easily moved by the Extremist Party, issued proclamations which had unhappy results.

They are now drawing into closer contact with the Provisional Government. This is largely due to M. Kerensky, who stands out as one of the heroic figures of the revolution. A young aristocrat, educated in the traditionally exclusive Lycee, and throwing his whole energies on the side of the people in the hitherto unequal struggle, he, when he became Minister of Justice, went to the Council room of the Soldiers and Workers Deputies, resigned his vice – presidency there, told them of the step he had taken, and said that if he was not reelected by them he would not leave the room alive. He was reelected with enormous enthusiasm, and since then has been working day and night for unity, as well as discharging the duties of Minister.

Plotters Arrested.

A counter revolution has been nipped in the bud by the arrests in the Caucasus of Major – General Chebykin, head of the reserves of the Guards at Petrograd. On him was found a compromising letter from the Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna to the Grand Duke Boris Vladimirovitch. The Minister of Justice, M. Kerensky, ordered the confinement to her house of the Grand Duchess. Chebykin and the others concerned are on the way to Petrograd under a strong guard. Meanwhile, by order of M. Gutehkoff, the Minister of War, other persons have been arrested at the main headquarters, including the private secretary of the Grand Duke Boris. Maria Pavlovna, widow of the brother of Alexander III, is the mother of the Grand Dukes Cyril and Boris.

The Government have lost no time in issuing a proclamation to the Poles calling upon them to share the new freedom. This should end the German hopes of raising a Polish Army, and at the same time is yet another proof to Europe that in the struggle of the last three weeks dragon and not St. George has been overthrown.

DN. April 5, 1917.

Back to Work In Russia.

Appeals from Soldiers and the Church.

The Food Supply.

Petrograd, Tuesday.

I believe the death – blow has been dealt to the premature peace agitation here by the German Reichstag majority vote against peace without annexation. Peace with German annexations would be acceptable only by the enemies of Russia, and by those who wish for the restoration of the old regime. On the other hand, it would be foolish to suppose Russia can change from empire, a principle of whose continuance has been steady annexation, to a democratic Republic determined to realize the dreams of the last 50 years, without having a considerable effect on the tone of the peace negotiations.

Meanwhile the soldiers are especially realizing the importance of efficiency in the rear to their comrades in the trenches and are appealing to the workers to return to the normal working life. The old bottles artificially weakened by the late Government have been badly strained by the new wine of the revolution. The delight of holding meetings in the country, where until the revolution, meetings were forbidden, has not yet worn off. The continued discussions by workpeople have temporarily lowered industrial productivity but the outlook is daily clearer, and if the burial of the victims of the revolution with great ceremony in the Champ de Mars arranged for Thursday passes off without disorder harmony between the various political sections may be considered definitely achieved. Relations between officers and soldiers are improving.

Better Food Supply.

The old Government has gone so far in its nefarious plans as seriously to organize even the food supply of the Army. M. Kerensky, who has just returned, says this is now good, while the discipline and spirit of men and officers alike are excellent.

Bishop Andrew, who will probably be the new Metropolitan of Petrograd, in place of the intriguing and unscrupulous Pitirim, has returned after celebrating services at the front. He gives the highest praise to the soldiers in the fighting

line, but says danger lies in the towns in the rear, and addresses himself with eloquent appeal for discipline and unity before the final struggle with the enemy. This appeal from the Church will have a great effect. The Duma is still the picturesque center of the revolution. Regiment after regiment with red flags inscribed "War to a Victorious End," marches up and exchanges speeches with the deputies.

Women's commands.

A tremendous procession of women came and asked that their rights also should be recognized by the Government. There is no doubt whatever that their demands will be granted. Universal suffrage, which guarantees a vote to the mountaineers of Caucasus, the wondering tribes of Central Asia, and the half savage fisherman of Siberian rivers, will not be denied to the women of Russia, who have taken so great part in the hundred – year story of the revolutionary movement.

A sudden vision of the completeness and size of the revolution is given by the leader of the members of the Second Duma, who, freed by the people, have just returned from hard Labor in Siberia. He said, "We have just crossed the whole of Russia from Far Siberia to Petrograd; we have traveled 3000 miles, and can tell you that there was not a town, not a stopping – place, where we did not feel how great was your influence everywhere, and how powerful the awakening of Russia."

O. April 8, 1917.

Republican Russia.

Counter – Revolution Unlikely.

Order Evolving.

Spirit Of The Army.

Petrograd, April 6.

The first act of the Revolution ended yesterday with the burial of the victims of the struggle, whose scarlet coffins were followed through Petrograd to a huge common grave on the Champ de Mars by an enormous procession. The city was more orderly than it ever was in the days of the old police.

The new Government is moving swiftly from reform to reform, freeing Poles, Finns, and Jews, and preparing the way for the equitable distribution of land among the actual cultivators. As for the future, I can say confidently that Petrograd is Republican, and there are many signs that the vast majority in the country are likely to prefer this form of constitution, together with considerable freedom in local self – government. Local national movements which have long struggled perforce in obscurity are now in the open gaining adherence daily.

If all develops smoothly it is likely that the old Russian character which made the three medieval Republics of Pskoff and Novgorod, will reassert itself in the new United States of Russia. The new Russia will not be aggressive. The power is now in the hands of the people, who, through the Council of the Workers and Soldiers Deputies will keep close watch on the doings of the temporary Government. The two bodies are working much more harmoniously than at first seemed likely.

Old Regime Swept Away.

All signs of the old regime are disappearing, and though isolated attempts have been made to stir up excesses with a view to a counter – revolution, they have all failed, even such projects as the arming of prisoners of war to fight against the people and the releasing of jails full of criminals on the peaceful inhabitants.

The country districts are naturally the cause of most anxiety, because all the younger and better educated peasants are at the war, and the older men, unable to read and write, are easily misled by the fantastic ideas put into their heads by enemy agents. Attempts to stir up the peasants against the landowners have been scotched by delegates sent from the Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Deputies, who impressed on the people the urgent need for order. Great numbers of men and women are being sent into the country to explain exactly what has happened.

The Navy And Army.

The reports of revolutionary disorders in the fleet were grossly exaggerated. Order has been completely restored. The only request from sailors to the temporary Government was for an increase in the fighting strength of the fleet.

The relations between the officers and men of the Army at the front are excellent, though there is a certain amount of disorder in the rear. The new military declaration for officers is to be a soldiers cross, awarded to the officers only by the votes of the men. There is no question that the spirit of the Army, which was depressed by the long drawn political crisis before the Revolution and by the firm belief that military secrets had leaked out through the Imperial Court has now reached a height unknown since the beginning of the war.

If the factories in the rear settle down again to work, and if the Government succeed in reducing to order the chaos artificially created by the old regime, Russia can look forward confidently to the summer campaign.

The Stokhod Defeat.

The defeat sustained on the Stokhod, so far, seems local and amounts to no more than the usual efforts made by one side or other at this season when preparing for the spring struggle. It was not so much a preparation for an advance as an attempt by the Germans to set the river between themselves and the Russians at the point where, in the middle of last summer, the Russians gained a foothold on the further bank after sweeping the Germans from the marshy woodlands lying between the Styr and the Stokhod. The Russians retain the whole eastern bank of the river, and further south they are still across it. None the less, the German blow has done the Russians a good turn. This, together with the Reichstag resolution, will leave a considerable effect in speeding the work in the factories, where, in the first excitement of freedom, the workmen were inclined to introduce changes neither in their own interests nor in that of the Army, which depends on them.

DN. April 10, 1917.

Russian War Aims.

Constantinople Not Wanted.

Labor Program.

Miliukoff's Position.

Petrograd, Sunday.

It is most important for the future of Anglo –Russian relations that Great Britain should not be misled as to the attitude of the Russian nation towards the war. It would be dangerous to under – estimate the effect of the revolution, and still more dangerous to allow the wish to be father to the thought, in choosing which voices Britain shall listen in the new vociferous chorus of ungagged Russia.

Even in the Ministry the Imperialistic views of M. Miliukoff are not unanimously held. At a meeting of railway men at Moscow, M. Nektanov, Minister of Communications, who was asked about the declaration of the Foreign Minister concerning the aims of the war, stated that M. Miliukoff's words represented no more than his private opinion. M. Kerensky, Minister of Justice, has gone further, and his opinion is one of great weight, because, besides being one of the strongest figures in the Temporary Government, he is also Vice – President of the Council of Soldiers and Workers Deputies, which is daily strengthening and developing throughout Russia.

War of Defense Only.

M. Kerensky officially declares that M. Miliukoff's statement, including his desire for Constantinople, etc., does not represent the point of view of the Government, and further, that he (M. Kerensky) has not changed his own views, which are still those of the Labor Party. The Labor Party, while realizing that a Russian defeat would mean the defeat of Russian freedom, is willing only to conduct a war of defense. It renounces absolutely any desire for Constantinople, and by a majority has asked the Government to express its readiness to conclude peace whenever all the Powers agreed to relinquish ideas of annexation or indemnity.

Further, yesterday at the Taurida Palace a great meeting was held of delegates from the Army, who passed a resolution asking that the Temporary Government should state that the aims of the war. There was considerable diversity of views among the soldiers. It must be remembered that the revolution has actually put the real, and not a paper power in the hands of the democracy. The temporary non– elected Government will remain only so long as it does nothing of which the democracy disapproves too strongly.

No Separate Peace.

From this point of view it is important to note that there is greater public support behind the words of M. Kerensky, in referring to the Socialist David's

speech in the Reichstag . Referring to himself and M. Chkheidze , M. Kerensky says: "If he supposes we are going to make possible the conclusion of a separate peace, then he is bitterly mistaken." These are words which have behind them at present practically the whole Russian people, which, on the other hand, looks on Constantinople and similar aims as chimera, which the nation is unwilling to spend its blood to bring to realization.

The future of Anglo – Russian relations depends on whether we have enough imagination to understand the Russian view. The situation may be put this way: The bourgeoisie and half the intelligentsia are Imperialistic. Russia contains proportionally the smallest bourgeois class, and not only the huge body of peasants and workers and the soldier democracy is conscious of that fact. The Ministry itself knows it, and is itself prepared to submit to the larger will, to attempt to dispute which would be to invite internal struggle.

The revolution is only three weeks old. The golden towers of Utopia gleaned almost within man's reach. The freed men of Russia, their eyes bright with that vision, turn with impatience from the drab sober visions offered them by the class with which they have the least in common.

DN. April 12, 1917.

Russia's New Spirit.

**Peoples Power Over Parties and the Government
Demand For A Republic.**

Petrograd, Wednesday.

Prophecy in these days has hard worked to keep up with fulfillment. Three days ago would seem clear that it would be unwise for England to take M. Miliukoff's declaration of the aims of the war as official, in spite of the fact that he is Foreign Minister. Since then events have moved fast. M. Miliukoff's statement was repudiated first by one Minister, then by another. A chorus of disapproval rose even in the moderate papers, and it became obvious that to retain the trust of democracy the Government must express itself openly, choosing between M. Miliukoff and the people. Then, as on a dozen other occasions, M. Kerensky saved the situation.

In a great speech to the meeting of the Council of Soldiers and Workers Deputies, where he faced the critics who had accused him of leniency towards the representatives of the old regime, he was able to say: "Thanks to the fact that I joined the Cabinet of the temporary Government, in a few days there will appear documents showing that Russia is refraining from every kind of attempt at conquest." M. Kerensky's promise was redeemed within a few hours, and last night, at the Marie Palace, where the Council of Ministers meets, the text of the declaration thus hinted at became known. [The full text of the declaration appeared in "The Daily News" of yesterday.]

It is no longer possible to accuse the Government of seeking Constantinople or, indeed, anything but the salvation and preservation of Russia and Russian freedom. For that purpose there is no party in the State unwilling to make the utmost effort.

The Real Power.

Of the thousands of meetings of every kind of association held since the revolution the most significant of the change in the country has been the conference of the party of Popular Freedom [Constitutional Democrats]. That party now finds itself in the wholly unexpected position unconsciously illustrated by M. Miliukoff when addressing it. He described how, on the morning of the revolution, "I thought it would be suppressed in a quarter of an hour, but in a few hours I learnt that it was indeed the Russian Revolution, and that it would not be suppressed so easily."

Precisely because that party was looking from the windows while the workmen and soldiers were taking this stupendous risk of armed rebellion, it is no longer unquestionably representative of Russia. The Duma rose to the occasion, but the occasion was created by the people in the streets and barracks, and these are represented by the Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, who are unwilling to let their power go. The Cadets, in spite of their full representation in the Cabinet, no longer lead the country, but are faced with the difficult task of retaining at least the shadow of power by making very real concessions to the new spirit of the day.

Representatives of the educated middle class, they see more clearly than the workers the immense danger from without, wherefore it falls to them to make sacrifices for the sake of the nation's unity. Their plaintive cry for "Fabianism and Evolution," instead of revolution, is drowned by the voices of the moment. The proceedings of the Conference were mainly limited to the expression of

the parties views as to the future government of Russia, with the hope of establishing a party platform for the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

Czar as Enemy.

M. Kokoshkin, in a short retrospect, explained that they had been in favor of a Constitutional Monarchy, but that during the war it had become clear that it was not always possible to fight "for Czar and Fatherland" because events had shown the possibility of fighting for the Czar against the Fatherland. Now on all lips was the formula, "Democratic Republic." A delegate from the Ukraine said the Ukrainians wished for a Democratic Federal Republic.

Prince Trubetkoi, who has just arrived from the Kaluga government, referred to the contradictory tendencies in the villages or the class – conscious part of the population was in favor of a Republic, but the rest of the peasants were puzzled and uneasy, and were asking, "How shall we get on without the Czar and without the police?" He pointed out that a Republic must be able to justify itself by internal order and by its conduct of the war. The famous philosopher, Loasky, defined a Democratic Republic as that form of constitution which seeks to ensure free development of all spiritual and material interests of all classes of the population, not limiting itself to the point of view of any single small group.

M. Maxudow, speaking in the name of the Mohammedans, said they were indifferent as to federation, but they thought that Russia should be that kind of Republic under which it would be possible for all nationalities to live as they liked. M. Kokeshkin declared that the question of federation would be discussed at the next Conference, as would also the question of the system of government by one or two Houses. In reply to M .Maxudow, he said the party was unanimously in favor of wide decentralization.

The People Supreme.

Finally the following resolution was passed:

"Russia should be a democratic Parliamentary Republic. Legislative power should be in the hands of the representatives of the people. At the head of the executive power should stand the President of the Republic elected for a limited term by the representatives of the people, and governing by means of a Ministry responsible to the representatives of the people."

At a later sitting the Conference passed to the discussion of the Constituent Assembly. With regard to the war the party expressed itself in agreement with the views of the temporary Government, which have since been made known by the declaration published this morning. Throughout the Conference the tone of the discussion was more significant than the individual speeches. Feeling throughout is one of disquiet at the existence in the country of two powers – namely, the Government and the Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies. I fear rather that the belief in that the real power is in the hands of the latter. The Conference presents the interesting spectacle of a clear – sighted intelligent bourgeoisie, knowing that it is bound to realize the danger that is threatening the country, and finding that, whereas it once had to behave tactfully with regard to the powers above, it now has similar tact in dealing with the powers below.

DN April 13, 1917.

**Russian Army Claims.
Impatience with Labor Extremist.
Work Needed, Not Words.**

Petrograd, Wednesday.

In addition to the intelligent bourgeoisie who are disquieted by the existence side by side with the temporary Government of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, there is another party similarly disquieted.

Unlike the bourgeoisie that party has forces at its disposal. Representatives of the Guards visited M. Kerensky, and said they were delighted at the part he is playing in the temporary Government, and that the Army believed that in the hands of that Government the safety and freedom of Russia was assured. They questioned him, however, on the relations between the temporary Government and the Council of the Soldiers and Workers Deputies, and ask if there was any truth in the rumors of a possible seizure of power by that or any other professional organization. M. Kerensky replied that any disagreement between them had so far always been solved by the exchange of opinions, and that before permitting such a seizure of power by any professional organization, the Government, addressing itself to the good sense of the whole nation, would lay down the responsibility and authority taken up on themselves before their country.

Demands of the Army.

The representatives emphasized, in conclusion, that the Guards Army trusts the temporary Government, and will support it, and considers that no other authority is legitimate. The same deputation visited the President of the Council of Ministers. Yesterday a deputation from the First Army similarly addressed the Council of Ministers at the Marie Palace. Further, 83 of the Petrograd garrison, together with representatives of various units at the front, passed a resolution demanding that all the Councils of the Soldiers and Workers should unite as soon as possible in one body.

Their demands, they contended should be fulfilled only through the temporary Government. They should start industrial disorganization, which threatened the Army, hand over economic disputes to arbitration without interrupting work, and postpone the introduction of the eight hour working day that work in the trenches is ceaseless. Further, the resolution addressed the officers and soldiers, calling for general collaboration and mutual trust.

These speeches and resolutions are the outward sign of the growing impatience of the Army with the extreme Labor demands in Petrograd. It has already happened that soldiers have had to be called in to unload trains because the railway workers refused to work overtime, even though the trains contain urgently needed meat. The soldiers are therefore beginning to say, "Stop talking and get back to work." In this extraordinary new organism forming in Russia, just as the bourgeoisie fears the workers, so do the workers fear the soldiers.

Difficult Conditions.

It must be remembered that the conditions are unlike those in England, where the soldiers and workers belong to an identical class. Here the soldiers for the most part are not industrial workers, but peasants. Their point of view is much nearer that of the small landowners and farmers. It is very difficult to judge the position, but my own feeling is optimistic. Last night I received fairly encouraging reports from the factories, where productivity is steadily rising. If conflict between the workers and soldiers is avoided, it looks as if the balance of power will be preserved long enough for the nation to learn its mind before being forced into premature decisions.

Reduced to the simplest terms the position may be expressed thus: M. Miliukoff's Imperialism is held in bounds by Labor, and Labor is held in bounds by the wholesome fear of losing the support of the Army.

O. April 15, 1917.

Soldiers & Workers In Russia.

No Disruption.

All Classes Falling Into Line.

Petrograd, April 13.

This week, like each of the last four, has witnessed the marked progress of the new Russia, and circumstances which once seemed to threaten disruption now clearly threaten nothing of the sort. The Government is proceeding with the difficult task of putting right the purposeful disorder of the old regime, and there is every hope that even the food question will lose its acuteness when the new system of fixed prices, varying according to districts, comes into full operation. From the point of view of the war this week has seen the expression of a formula on which practically every section of the population agree.

M. Gutchkoff, amid cheers, announced at the front: – "We are conducting a war of defense, and on victory depends our freedom and the Russian future." That is the spirit not only of the rear, but of the army, and those make a grave mistake, who listening to the so – called bourgeois section of the Russian Press, believe that there is a serious disagreement in principle between the soldiers and the workers.

A Great Meeting of the disagreement, if any, lies between the middle-class and the proletariat, and, though perhaps efficiency would be better served by the self – effacement of the latter from the councils of the nation which they freed, none can be surprised that the Council of Soldiers and Workers Delegates declares its intention of retaining its position as a kind of second house in the temporary Government, instead of amalgamating with the Council of Ministers.

A great meeting of the Cadet Party illustrated among many other things the power of the Soldiers' and Workers' Council, even in the remote Governments of Russia. M. Kerensky, who commands their confidence and that of the

Ministers, over whom he has indeed presided in the absence of Prince Lvoff, is a great man, who better than any other knows the present mind of the country. Every class but one has expressed itself as supporting him, and when the peasants meet I would be much surprised if their views differ very greatly from those of the soldiers, who, for the most part, are themselves peasants. At the Conference of Russian Peasants, which will presently meet, they will probably speak clearly on the agrarian question, and have views quite unlike those of the town population on the subject of food supply, but on the question of war I believe they will fall into line with their sons and brothers from the front.

I have been in the closest touch with the Soldiers' and Workers' delegates, and I can say confidently that on the question of the war there will be no split between them. The excitement of the revolution and the attempt to introduce industrial reforms at breakneck speed have lowered the productivity of the factories. This soldiers certainly resent, but I believe the suggestions of open conflict is wholly out of place.

The present Conference of Councils of Workers and Soldiers Delegates from all parts of Russia now being held in the Duma will establish an agreement between both parties, who are already one in principle.

I was present at yesterday's meeting and heard enough from both workers and soldiers to convince me that a separate peace is infinitely less possible now than it was before the Revolution. "We will fight till every nation in the world is free to choose its Government, as we are free," said one. "We want no foreign lands, but we will not give up our own," said another; and when the "Grandmother of the Revolution," who spent 40 years in Siberia, called on them not to let the Hohenzollerns take what they had won from the Romanoff's, a private soldier expressed the views of the whole assembly when, kissing her, he said, "We have won freedom. We shall know how to keep it."

DN April 17, 1917.

The Power In Russia.

Council Which Controls Duma and Safeguards Democracy.

"Peace, But Not With Defeat."

Petrograd, Friday.

(Delayed in transmission.)

The attitude of the All – Russian conference of the Council of Soldiers, Workers, and Deputies towards the war was not in doubt from the beginning of this sitting. None who had seen the response to Madame Brenchko Brichkovskaya's address was surprised at the passing of M. Tseretelli's resolution against annexation or the demands for contribution in favor of every effort to strengthen the front and rear against the enemy. The resolution was passed by 325 against 57.

What the spirit of the Army is became very clear during the debate. I did not hear a single "militaristic" speech. Soldier after soldier said, "We want the end of the war; we want peace, but we do not want peace with defeat. We do not want to smudge our new freedom with dishonor." An extremists from Irkutsk said, "If there is no annexation there should be no contribution. Why do we continue the war, surely we do not go on simply because we have to serve the bourgeois classes of England and France?" He was received with howls of indignation, and only after the President had appealed for the principle of free speech did the conference allow him to proceed.

After the question of the war the conference turned to consider their attitude towards the temporary Government. M. Stekloff opened the discussion by a report touching on the historical points of the revolution. He described how the Council of Soldiers and Workers were not amalgamated with the Executive Committee, but, except on the point of the succession to the throne, worked in agreement with them.

A "Scrap of Paper."

He showed a scrap of paper on which were the Council's suggestions, almost all of which were accepted by the Committee. The Committee, however, refused to agree to refrain from any action which should decide in advance the future form of the Russian Constitution. M. Miliukoff's declaration as to the continuance of the old dynasty will be remembered as an illustration. The Executive Committee without agreement with the Council, sent Guchkoff and Shulgin to interview the Czar.

"We were much disturbed," he said, "and gave orders that the train be stopped. (Tremendous applause.) However, they got through, but Michael Alexandrovitch Romanoff refused the Throne because he perfectly understood this was not the will of the people."

The Council has since been proved right, and M. Miliukoff's own party has declared itself Republican. M. Stekloff considers that the control exercised by the Council on the Government is justified by this alone, and from the manner in which his report was received I think it probable that a resolution will be passed guaranteeing the fullest support through the Government in so far as it continues on the lines laid down for it by mutual agreement – that is, the abandonment of annexation, a contribution carrying on the war with the utmost vigor to an honorable conclusion, and the preparation of the Constituent Assembly. In the meantime, enough has happened to justify the Council retaining its independent position to watch over the interest of democracy.

Divergent Views.

Saturday (Delayed in transmission).

The third day of the conference was occupied by the still unfinished debate on the relations between the Council and temporary Government. The debate was marked by great the divergence of views. On one side a military doctor said the new authority was not very different from the old, only all the power was falling into the hands of the landowners and representatives of the rich bourgeoisie.

On the other side, a private soldier, representing the garrison of Ekaterinoslav, called upon the delegates to distinguish political from military strategy in their criticism of the Government. He said the soldiers supported the Government, and were prepared to support it, if necessary, even with force.

This was thoroughly characteristic of the spirit of the debate, which was conducted throughout with sound sense, obvious honesty, and the determination to discover the proper line of action. Less eloquent than the old Dumas, this contemporary proletariat Parliament gives far surer guarantees of Russia's future.

Now that the Government has declared itself against the policy of annexation the conference is wholly with it with regard to the presentation of the war. The difficulty is in the fact that the Government and conference represent different classes of the population. It is difficult to expect the Socialist to resign the power into the hands of the Cadet party when M. Miliukoff has on two occasions shown that the policy his policy is absolutely opposed to theirs. The Socialist know that through the existence of the Council of Soldiers and

Workers they have so far been able to make the Government fulfill the will of the revolutionaries.

Therefore although they are determined to win the war and support the Government in that aim, they feel themselves faced with a grave risk should they resign the power of bringing outside pressure to bear on what they feel should be the only the executive machinery of the revolutionary will.

A Counter – Revolution?

Frequent mention is made of a possible counter – revolution. It should be understood that the revolutionaries do not mean by this the return of the Czarism, but something much more subtle and difficult to prevent. They would regard as a counter – revolution any turn of affairs which should??? the minority in control of the majority. Thus they regard as counter – revolutionary the attempts made to set the soldiers against the workers.

Unless those attempts succeed I think I can safely predict there will be no conflict.

DN. April 19, 1917,

Russian Labor Problems.

Decisions of Workers Conference.

Will Thorne's Opinion.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The All – Russian conference of the Councils of Soldiers and Workmen's Deputies, the first proletariat Parliament in the history of the world, ended with the singing of the "Marseillaise" and "Internationale," after a wildly – cheered speech from M. Plekhanoff calling on the people to remember that the defeat of free Russia would mean the defeat of Democracy throughout Europe. Even the supporters of M. Miliukoff recognize that the conference has risen to the moment, although they are unwilling to admit that the existence of the Soldiers and Workers Councils, instead of meaning two Governments in Russia, means that the actual Government is, as it should be, the executive organ of the democracy.

Throughout the conference hostility to the Temporary Government were shown only by extremist, who are in an almost ridiculous minority. The resolution passed recognizes that the Temporary Government so far is perfectly fulfilling the will of the people, and guarantees to support it so long as it continues to do so, and to resist it only if it should attempt to put itself beyond democratic control.

Chinese Labor.

Special measures were advised to prevent conscript Labor being used to ensure the subjection of the workers to the capitalists. With regards to Chinese or other imported Labor, the conference had no objection to the Labor of any race on equal terms. Contract Labor, since it leads to conditions of slavery, should be abolished. Contracts already in existence should be carefully revised, and all foreign Laborers who are unwilling to remain should be allowed to go. Another important resolution dealt with insurance, which the conference considered must be real insurance, and not a means of preventing strikes and ensuring the servitude of Labor to capital.

The arrival of the English and French Labor delegates naturally caused no very great excitement, although after M. Plekhanoff's speech, when he and M. Shklreide joined hands with the English and French, the meeting cheered vociferously. Will Thorne, M. P., said he had seen lots of meetings, but this beat them all. The delegates only stayed for a little while at the conference, but I believe they will be invited to confer with the committee.

Heroine of Exile,

Petrograd. April 12. (Delayed in transmission.)

One month after the revolution something very like a proletariat Parliament has been sitting in the White Hall once occupied by the Dumas. It was the conference of the Councils of Workers and Soldiers Deputies from all parts of Russia and from the Army's at the front. The opening of the conference was marked by the arrival of Hresako Breshkovskaya the "grandmother of the Russian Revolution," who after 40 years in Siberia was freed by the revolution. The whole conference stood and cheered when she entered on the arm of M. Kerensky, who was looking very ill and trembling with excitement. He was followed by other leaders and representatives of the Army and the Fleet, and

delivered a greeting.

Many broke down altogether. The "grandmother," a little kindly old lady, with nearly white hair and pink cheeks, laughed and cried as she kissed them. At last she made a short speech. She urged that the Hohenzollern's shall not be allowed to conquer what had been taken from the Romanoff's.

I have never seen such enthusiasm. Soldiers and sailors left from their places and rushed to the Tribune. Some knelt before her, and cried "We have brought you from Siberia to Petrograd. Shall we not guard you? We have one freedom. We will keep it."

She gave away some roses from the bouquet with what she had been presented at the station. I saw a soldier who had only secured two petals wrap them up in paper, while tears of excitement ran down his face. Finally, "grandmother " was lifted shoulder high in her chair and carried out of the building.

M. Chkheidze was elected President of the conference, but he delegated his powers to M. Skobeleff , having to go to the funeral of his son, who shot himself while playing with their gun.

O. April 22, 1917.

The Liberation Of Russia.

No Danger Of Separate Peace.

Order Asserting Itself.

Austro – German Offers Exposed.

Petrograd, April 20.

I believe that Russia's internal changes have found their final expression in the Government announcement of an unaggressive foreign policy, which, by satisfying the Congress of Soldiers' and Workers' delegates and uniting them in favor of the continuation of the war, has for the present, at any rate, removed all danger of a separate peace. The delegates have approved of the Government step, and though they ask that the Government shall suggest to the Allies to make a similar pronouncement, they feel that they are no longer

fighting towards a vague Imperialistic aim, with which they are not in sympathy, but actually in defense of their own freedom.

Labor Reforms.

This democratic conference took so sane and shrewd a line throughout its discussions that even its worst enemies admitted that it has done better than they expected. It agreed to support the Government so long as the Government does not swerve from the course it so far has preserved. It passed an important resolution concerning Labor. Among a series of reforms demanded are the following: – Insurance is no longer to be a means of enslaving Labor. Chinese and similar Labor is allowed, but contract Labor is to be abolished and foreigners imported under existing contracts are to be free to leave. Women's and children's Labor is to be safeguarded. Arbitration courts are to be introduced.

The most discussed measure was that of an eight hour day, which, however, should not affect munition work, as overtime, payable at less than 1 1/2 the ordinary rate, is to be allowed and is considered desirable in the present crisis.

As an illustration of the workers' added to a number of important factories have received declarations from the workers that they are going to work even on important holidays. M. Plekhanoff's pro-war speech was enthusiastically received, and the conference at what he was present was a proof that the attempts made to exasperate soldiers against the workers have so far completely failed.

Extremist Ignored.

Of course, there were extremist speakers who were against war and demanded an immediate peace, asking, "Why are we continually fighting for the benefit of the British and French bourgeois classes?" But not the speeches but their reception was significant, and only respect for freedom of speech obtained a hearing for them at all.

M. Lenin, the famous Communist Extremist, who arrived from Switzerland after traveling with 30 companions in a sealed wagon through Germany, found himself far out of touch with the majority of Russian Socialist. On his arrival he made a would-be inflammatory speech, calling for the Commune, for peace, for the abolition of the temporary Government, etc. But M. Scheidze, the Socialist leader, on whose support he relied, answered with a brief speech,

saying they were glad to see him amongst them to help in the fight against internal and external foes, thus clearly showing his own attitude. The "Labor Gazette," which very fairly represents the mass of Labor opinion, came up with a strong article, pointing out that anarchy was desirable only by the reactionaries, and that, therefore, the Extremist and their like were reactions best servants.

The Austro – German peace suggestions are counterbalanced by the battle on the Stokhod, and are not having the effect intended, and are almost unanimously exposed by the Press.

DN April 23, 1917.

A Russian Village.

The steamboat grunted slowly up the river, passing here a white monastery, with high gates, and pictures in gold and bright color over the doorways, there an isolated factory, with the green and gold domes of a church somewhere among its chimneys, and ever and again a little village of low wooden huts clustered on the banks half out of reach of the spring floods.

At last the green banks, for me at least lost their sameness, and became interesting like acquaintances in a crowd. There was the hole below which I had caught a fish the year before. There in the floods I had forced my boat over the muddy bank till it floated again on the flooded meadows. There was the wood that hid my friends house, and I picked up my bag and moved through the crowd of soldiers and peasant women to the gangway. The steamer whistled. A little boat rowed by an oarsman in a green shirt put out, and presently bumped heavily against the steamers side. I tumbled into her with my bank.

In the evening I walked along the river bank, by deep ponds in the old clay pits, where small boys catch tench by raking in the mud. From the other side of the broad river the music of a balalaika and of folks singing floated fitfully across. A great barge, with full, gigantic sail, moved slowly between the green banks, magnificent, and yet concerned with business, like Demeter going to market. At my own pace, expecting nothing in particular, I came to the village.

It was an ordinary Russian village of low wooden cottages, roofed with wooden tiles, the roofs overhanging so as to keep the walls dry, each cottage raised a few feet from the ground, so as to do as much for the floor. Little green birch – trees stood before the cottages, and there were wells beside each one of which was a bucket hanging on the slim swinging pole from a long balanced arm as high as the hut to which it belonged.

I had already tired of getting out of puddles into mud and out of mud into puddles, when I had come half – way through the village by the cottage of the peasant Ivan, who keeps the village shop.

Ivan was sitting on the bench before his cottage, with a newspaper in his hands. Beside him on the bench were several of the old men of the village, and half a dozen women were leaning against the brown unpainted long wall of the hut. He lowered his newspaper as I came nearer.

"I wish you well," said Ivan, calling me by name.

"And health to you, Ivan."

"And when will peace be?"

"Not yet."

"God grant we drive them out."

"God grant."

A place was made for me on the bench, and Ivan went on with his newspaper. This was the manner of his reading – or, rather, of the cooperative reading of the village. Ivan read one sentence word by word. He stopped.

"And further?" said one of the old peasants. Ivan read another sentence slowly, like the first.

"Then this man says so and so."

"Not quite," said another of the old men. "It seems to me that he says so and so."

"That is to say, that this is what he wishes us to believe..."

"Why does he want us to believe that?"

"Because..."

"In that case, the truth is probably thus... Read further, Ivan."

And Ivan read further, sentence by sentence, and again all that he read was similarly submitted to criticism. The method was always the same. The peasants who listened to him (themselves unable to read) decided (1) what, exactly, the newspaper said, (2) its purpose is lying, (3) what was probably the actual state of affairs.

"Dull for you," said Ivan, as I rose to go, "for the paper is four days old."

DN April 25, 1917.

Russian Land Troubles.

Peasants' Demands on the Landowners.

Petrograd, Monday.

As expected, the revolution has manifested itself in the country, where it has brought to a head long – standing agrarian disputes. In spite of the organization of food committees in country districts, which do their best to make the peasants understand that the land question cannot be wisely settled until the Constituent Assembly is selected, the peasants are inclined to take matters into their own hands.

In the Saratoff Government the peasants drive the Laborers from the estates, saying they will sow the land themselves, but as they have very little seed this is impossible. Peasants are also cutting down the forests of the landowners. In the Tambov Government peasants surrounded the houses of the landowners, who, under pressure, signed documents giving up their land. Bessarabian peasants sacked the country house estates of the rich Gagarin family.

Meanwhile in the south the drying east wind is blowing over the corn – lands and sewing should be done at once. It is feared the difficulties will have a serious effect on the harvest, and as the temporary Government points out in an eloquent appeal, "Bread is Russia's only salvation." The peasants blame the high rents of land as the cause of the shortage of corn. All over the country peasant Councils are being held, remarkable for the simplicity and determination. Proper distribution of the land is insisted upon.

A characteristic resolution decides that all the land which the private landowners cannot sow must be given over at once for temporary use by the peasants, soldiers wives to receive this land for nothing, and other peasants for a moderate rent to be fixed by local committees. In Odessa, at a big meeting of peasants it was pointed out that enormous private estates were unsown. To these councils the peasants bring a boundless faith in the future and goodwill to all men except landowners. In Odessa one peasant even made

a speech saying the Jews would henceforth be their friends and brothers. The speech was received with enormous applause, and the peasants, all standing, saying "Christ is risen."

O. April 29, 1917.

Conditions In Russia.

The Machine Running Smoothly.

Army Discipline.

Deserters Returning To The Colors.

Petrograd, Saturday

The worst danger at the present time is the mischievous talk about the existence of two Governments divided in power, etc. The Council of Soldiers' and Workers' Delegates, ever since the great Monday of the Revolution, when they were the first to realize the greatness of the events and to foresee the necessity of a Constituent Assembly, has been able more or less definitely to control the Government, which they recognize as an efficient executive body and will support so long as it continues its stated policy and makes no attempt to compromise the future of Russia in favor of any class or party.

As far as one can judge from English telegrams people at home envisage the situation too simply. They see Government on one side and lump the Council of Soldiers and Workers with the Extremist all together as Socialist on the other. This view is false and dangerous. So far there has been no serious divergence on large questions between the Government and the Council, the published statements of both being practically identical.

And it should be clearly realized that, while disagreeing with individual Ministers on minor points, such as the treatment of the late Tsar and the payment of pensions to Ministers of the old regime, the Council is Russia's best guarantee against the efforts of the Extremist, who are opposed, not only to the Government but to the Council. I have had personal opportunity of observing. The Extremist vote is always overwhelmed at the conference, largely owing to the predominance of soldiers.

Better Than Expected.

If, and some hope, the Army becomes incensed against the Council, if a definite split occurs between them driven into the hands of the Extremist. The last state would be worse than the first. As things are, they are beyond all imagination better than could be expected in the capital of any nation within two months of the greatest revolution in world's history.

The regimens at the front, who were disquieted by rumors, sent delegates to inspect the Petrograd munition factories, which were found to be working 24 hours a day. The Council is firm on the continuance of the war, in spite of Russia's great need for peace in which to settle her affairs. The Council has decided, for example, that the actors in the Imperial Theaters cannot be excused military service, even if this means closing the ballet. The peasant section of the Odessa branch has passed a resolution that deserters from the army are to receive no land in the eventual distribution.

Agents Provocateurs.

It would be possible to cite thousands of such examples to show that the aims of the Council do not contradict the aims of the Government, that both are contradicted by the aims of the Extremist. These last are aided by agents provocateurs, who are doing their best to stir up the people, so far unsuccessfully. An attempt at a hostile demonstration against the American Embassy was easily frustrated. The provocateurs are often very badly received by the crowd, although Russian crowds are usually ready to listen, respectfully to anybody. The Government has arrested many of these agents, and the Council assist them in every way in so doing.

The only place where conditions have been really bad is Kronstadt, and the reason was that there, in spite of the efforts of the Council, the soldier – worker extremist got the upper hand. Discipline in the Army has been swiftly reestablished. Deserters who, fearing to lose their share in the supposed land distribution, had bolted home, are returning in great numbers. General Brusiloff, speaking of this, expressed the view some days ago that the worst was past. At Homel a crowd of 2000 deserters with the flag inscribed, "Down with desertion in the Russian Army," presented themselves to the Commander. and asked to be sent to the front.

DN April 30, 1917.

Unity Of New Russia.

Victory in War the Way to Freedom.

Government's Task.

Petrograd, Friday.

The clearest statement on the relations between the Government and the Council of Soldiers and Workers Deputies has been made by M. Kerensky to the delegates from the Seventh Army, who, after referring to the principle of unity and strength in the Army, greeted M. Kerensky as the link between the Government and the Council.

M. Kerensky said the first task was the unification of the nation at the decisive moment of national life. Nothing new threatened to prevent this unification. Between the temporary Government and the Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies there was complete unity of aims and plans. Any disagreement, if it existed, was only in tactical questions, and questions as to what may be done today and what must be postponed until tomorrow. M. Kerensky touched firmly and sensibly on the vexed question of dual authority continually raised by the enemies of the Council of Workers and Soldiers.

Comrades.

"The temporary Government," he says, "possesses complete authority, but at the same time we are not a Council of Ministers, but a temporary Government. We are ten of your comrades, ordinary citizens, all of us. We have taken on ourselves a heavy burden and tremendous responsibility, for we have taken authority into our hands at a moment of supreme disorganization, and we must perform two tasks: Firstly, confirm freedom and democratize the country, lead it until the Constituent Assembly – which I do not doubt will declare for a democratic Republic – is elected. And secondly, we must not allow the breaking of our front, the destruction of the man – power of the State, and the seizure of our freedom. In fulfilling these tasks we have need both of criticism and of control. Wherefore do not be disturbed, do not think that criticism and control by the public interferes with our work. We need control and criticism by the Council of Soldiers and Workers, by the peasants, officers, deputies, all the more because they represent the Russian nation and democracy."

The Minister of Justice went on to deal with other points, in particular touching on the land question and the rumors spread of an immediate distribution of land – one of the chief causes of desertion from the Army. M. Kerensky declared: "I assure you that land questions will not be settled without the agreement of the Front, and not a single archine of land will be given to anyone until the whole people and the Army state their will, especially the Army, which has a particular right to a decisive voice, since for the people, for freedom, and for the land the Army has paid with its blood."

Deserters Returning.

As to the war M. Kerensky said: "Free Russia does not mean ruin or anarchy. He who thinks that is mistaken. Go you back to the front, fulfill your arduous often almost insupportable duty, while we will do all that is possible that this terrible war shall the sooner end, and shall end in a manner worthy of a free people, and in such a way that the present war shall be the last."

The stream of deserters from the Army's is now flowing back again. The trains are crowded to the roofs and buffers with returning men. Peasants in many cases rounded up deserters and sent them back. The peasant section of the Odessa Council has passed a resolution demanding that no land be given to deserters, and deserters in huge bands, signing the "Marseillaise," were to be seen returning to the front cheered by the crowds at the stations. The immediate difficulty in the provinces is the land question, which can be finally settled only by the Constituent Assembly. Meanwhile, the country houses in some districts have been burnt and the forests cut. The temporary Government is about to pass temporary laws limiting woodcutting and aiming at increasing the harvest. Thus, lands unsown by the owner pass immediately under culture. Food committees are being empowered to rent them at reasonable rates, for sowing, to local agricultural workers. The temporary Government issues a special appeal to landlords to sow their lands, and declare a State corn monopoly. It calls upon the peasants not to lay an unnecessary burden on the State finances by destructive excesses.

DN. May 2, 1917.

Joy In Petrograd.

Greatest Demonstration of the International.

Petrograd, Tuesday.

Today for the first time Russia officially recognizes the Western calendar, May 1 being celebrated today, which, according to the Russian calendar, is April 18. This is the first step towards the introduction of the Western style, which many in Petrograd wish immediately, although in the country districts the change would certainly be accomplished by misunderstandings.

This was the greatest May 1 demonstration since the founding of the International. It is different from the demonstrations of other years and in other countries because for the first time it is not a demonstration of protest and promise, but of realization. This is not a police – restrained May Day, but a May Day of a free people. The whole town is celebrating. Everybody in the town worked on Sunday in order to celebrate today with a good conscience.

From my window I can hear the "Marseillaise" sung by thousands of voices away to the left. From the other side a procession is coming up from the great factories singing special factory folk songs, which, I believe, are peculiar to Russia. Immediately below my window, is a great square, two processions are meeting. One of them includes a detachment from one of the regiments which first flew the Red Flag in the days of the revolution. The other procession, noticing this, breaks into the wild cheering, which spreads over the people far away into the distance under the gold domes and cupolas of the old Russian church. Soldiers wave their caps and shout in reply.

In all directions, as far as I can see, red flags are waving above the dense crowd, which leaves just room for the continually passing processions. On either side of the processions long strings of men and women walk along holding hands. It is difficult to believe that in the same square, only six weeks ago, I witnessed the battle for the prison next door, which is now a picturesque ruin decorated with flags. Besides this square, five other centers for celebration have been chosen in the town, and similar scenes are proceeding simultaneously in every quarter. The whole town is hung with flags, banners, and inscriptions. A characteristic emblem, an enormous red and white banner, hangs over the granite front of the German Embassy, which was sacked in 1914 and has stood empty ever since. The banner is inscribed: "Proletariat of all lands unite." That is the thought in the minds of the Russian workmen today. When will such a day be seen in Berlin?

DN. May 4, 1917.

Free Russia And Britain.

Why This Country is Criticized.

Judgments Based On First Principles.

Petrograd, Monday.

It is difficult for those not here to realize how completely the revolution has altered the measures by which Russia judges other nations. Early in the war there was criticism of England on the ground that she was not doing her full share in the war. That criticism of course has been swept away by events. It has been replaced by something quite different.

In the first days of the revolution England still retained the glamour of liberty which it had under the old regime, when every mention of England had a political purpose as a criticism of Russia's own political servitude. But during the weeks since the revolution England, in Petrograd at least has lost a considerable part of her popularity.

Saint Patrick's Day Speeches.

The new democracy judges people, persons, and even wars by reference to first principles. There is freedom of speech in Russia, and freedom of meeting. It did England no good when the news reach Russia that gatherings unlicensed by the police were not permitted in Dublin on St. Patrick's Day. With a free Press, the huge Socialist working-class speedily learnt that for an international Socialist Congress during the war England refused passports to English representatives.

Even the English system of treating conscientious objectors found an immediate place in Russian newspapers and contributed to the forming of a new image of England in the minds of emancipated workers.

Mr. Bonar Law's compassion for the Czar, and the assumption in some quarters in England that the Czar magnanimously saved Russia by abdicating, when there was nothing else he could do, provided a straw for the making of anti-English bricks. And telegrams in the "Times," re-telegraphed back to Russia, giving a wholly false idea of the Council of Soldiers and Workers on the one hand, and grossly labeling the Jews on the other, still further helped to estrange the Press.

Mr. O'Grady's Party.

Besides, natural anxiety about the war led us perhaps to readily and openly to devote ourselves to calling Russia's attention from the revolution to the enemy. This has had lamentable effects. For example, although M. Plekhanoff explained that the Labour Party represented here by Mr. O'Grady contains 2 million members, whereas the I.L.P. numbers only 30,000 there has been serious criticism of the British Government for not allowing I.L.P. He. Representatives to visit Russia. The "Den" says :

"The delegation of English workers visiting us does not express the opinion and feeling of the whole English proletariat. It is made up one-sidedly. No part is taken in it by those who, perhaps, would find more words in common with the Russian revolutionary democracy."

As an intelligent member of the All-Russian Conference put it, "For us Russians there are now new standards. Germany is probably the most reactionary country, but England is not far behind."

Beside all this there is the question of Ireland, which arises in every conversation about England. England's popularity as the land of freedom has ended, since at present the Russians are more-free. But, as another writer in the "Den" says, "What matters is not whether England is 'better' or Germany 'worse.' What matters is only this, from the point of view of the salvation of the French, Russian, and Belgian democracy from submission to Wilhelm II., the present position of England appears an extremely fortunate and indispensable circumstance, even though this position may be dictated by strictly selfish considerations on the part of England."

DN. May 5, 1917.

New Russia & The War.

M. Miliukoff's Note Raises Protest.

Stormy Scenes.

Soldiers Demand His Resignation.

[Excitement and resentment have been caused in Petrograd by the terms of the Note in which M. Miliukoff, Minister of Foreign Affairs, makes known

Russia's policy in regard to the war, and in particular by his references to the decision to refrain from demands for annexation and indemnity. Following upon demonstrations by the troops, it is rumored that the Minister will resign.]

Petrograd, Thursday.

M. Miliukoff's Note to the Allies has had an immediate effect here. Going out this morning I've heard there was indignation in the barracks. I have just come in from the Marie Square where stands the Marie Palace, the meeting place of the Council of Ministers of the Temporary Government. The whole square was a dense mass of troops. In the center was the Litovsky Regiment, with huge red banners inscribed "Down with Miliukoff!" Speakers among the soldiers were saying, "Since he no longer fulfills the will of the people why should he be a member of the people's Government?" There are strong rumors that M. Miliukoff will resign his position as Foreign Secretary. His resignation would possibly be in time to avert a disastrous conflict, which is desired neither by the Government nor by the Council.

"On May Day, on the very day of the first openly celebrated holiday of democratic brotherhood," says one of the largest of the Labour papers, "the Foreign Minister signed a Note to the Allies concerning Russia's decision to refrain from demands for annexation and indemnity."

"Citizen Miliukoff."

The paper then proceeds to express extreme dissatisfaction with the tone of the Note, which "literally repeats all that has more than once been stated by Citizen Miliukoff in private interviews, and has not only been protested against by the democracy, but even disowned by the Temporary Government, which explained that the Imperialist tendencies of the Foreign Minister were only 'his personal opinions.'"

It will be remembered that the Council of the Soldiers and Workers Deputies passed a resolution asking the Temporary Government to address a Note to the Allies requesting them to join Russia in refraining from annexation and contribution and in stating that a desirable peace would be based on self – definition of the people's. If M. Miliukoff's Note is meant as an answer to this resolution it may have the effect of precipitating a wholly unnecessary conflict between the Council and the Government.

It is a curious position. M. Miliukoff, the Foreign Minister of Democratic Russia, is probably the strongest Imperialist in the country, and retains his position solely on account of his great personal influence, although twice before this Note statements of his – one about the preservation of the old dynasty and the other about Constantinople – have nearly caused a definite split in the country.

"Dead Language."

The extremist "Pravda" points to M. Miliukoff's Note as proof of the failure of the moderate methods of the Council of Soldiers and Workers Deputies. Other papers point out that M. Miliukoff's Note is written in the dead language of the old diplomacy, from which the revolution was to have freed Europe. Russian democracy, as a whole, is definitely against a separate peace, but one of the first objects of the Council was to decide on the aims of the war, so that the soldiers should know what they were fighting for. If those definite aims disappear once more in the form of diplomatic language it will be difficult to preserve the unity so happily attained.

Meanwhile Austro – Germans are not idle on the front. General Brusiloff says that delegates from the enemy, who visited the Russian trenches with the ostensible object of fraternizing, were armed with photographic apparatus. On interrogation at headquarters they declared they had been sent out, not by their comrades, but by their military superiors, with a view of learning the character of the Russian defenses, numbers of troops, positions of machine guns, etc. One such delegate boasted that by means of these expeditions of fraternity Austrians have obtained a very large number of photographs of Russian fortifications.

O. May 6, 1917.

Story Of The Crisis.

M. Miliukoff And His Critics.

Petrograd, May 4.

Last Sunday all of the workmen in Petrograd worked as on a week-day in order to be free to celebrate May Day. Procession after procession passed through the city on Tuesday in perfect order, and the Temporary Government and the Council of Soldiers and Workers Delegates had good reason for congratulating

themselves on the swift liquidation of the upheaval.

Today, three days later, this situation has completely changed. After the All – Russian Conference of the Councils of Soldiers and Workers Delegates had expressed satisfaction with Russia's declaration of her war aims, which were that the peoples peace should be concluded without annexation or indemnity, it passed a resolution asking that an invitation should be sent to the Allies to make a similar statement with a view to hastening the end of the war. There was no question of Russia's making a separate peace. Even the extravagant Lenin declares himself opposed to a separate peace, though his agitation, if it had any success, would tend that way. The soldiers expressed themselves satisfied with the clear statement as to what they were fighting for.

The general expectation was that presently there would be published a Note to the Allies embodying a suggestion for a conference. Instead, yesterday morning M. Miliukoff's Note was published commenting on the Governments original declaration of March 27 and emphasizing the fact that the democratization of Russia had not changed her foreign policy. So, at least, the Note could be read. Although the Note itself was inoffensive and textually could be and was supported by the whole Government, it had the effect of once more clouding in diplomatic language Russia's aims in the war, and, coming as a reply to the expectations above described, roused the keenest dissatisfaction. Enormous demonstrations marched past the Marie Palace calling for M Miliukoff's resignation. Troops left their barracks with banners inscribed "Down with Miliukoff." The same inscription was hung in huge letters across the German Embassy in the square by the palace.

The extremist Leninites naturally seized the opportunity to redouble their activity. The supporters of M. Miliukoff started demonstrations, shouting "Down with Lenin," and only the moderation and good sense of the Council of Soldiers and Workers Delegates, who sent urgent messages to all the barracks urging the troops to remain quiet, prevented worst trouble. The Council of Soldiers and Workers Delegates held two meetings and a special sitting yesterday evening followed by a joint meeting with the Temporary Government, who fully realize the seriousness of the situation.

Dissatisfaction with M. Miliukoff was caused not only by this Note, but was brought to a head by it. The dissatisfaction began with the beginning of the Revolution, when he spoke in favor of the preservation of the old dynasty, and was increased by his expression, although Foreign Minister, of his private views concerning Constantinople when these were in direct contradiction with

the Governments declaration. I believe that the general feeling both of the people and the Army is opposed to both extremes. They do not want Imperialism represented by M. Miliukoff, and do not want a separate peace.

Up till 2:00 o'clock last night the Marie –Palace square was still occupied by groups of excited debaters. The worst danger in the situation is that it will weaken M. Kerensky's position in the Council of Soldiers and Workers Delegates. He is the most important link in the unity which, until yesterday, seem definitely secured.

DN May 7, 1917.

Russian Crisis At An End.

M. Miliukoff's Note Explained.

Street Shots.

Landing Feared Near Petrograd.

[Russia has successfully passed through the crisis occasioned by the Note of the Foreign Minister, M. Miliukoff, to the Allies. After street demonstrations, in which a few shots were fired, and a conference between the Temporary Government and the Council of the Workers and Soldiers Deputies, the explanation of the Note was accepted, and the incident is considered closed.]

Petrograd, Sunday.

A crisis, which for the present has subsided, has been the most serious test of statesmanship for all parties. The utmost credit must be given to the Council of the Soldiers and Workers Deputies for their actions throughout. The new freedom has the fragility of all precious things, and it would have been tragedy if it had been broken in a struggle over ambiguous words.

Only those who are here can realize, how, near the ambiguity of M. Miliukoff's Note came to plunging the capital once more into the melting pot. His words had been approved by the Temporary Government, though not without dissentient voices, even among the members of the Duma Executive Committee. .Karauloff, for example, said, "The form of the Note is insufficiently clear, and is even foggy."

The Temporary Government, therefore, said they were prepared to stand by the Note as a whole. This put the resignation of M. Miliukoff out of the question. At a special night setting of the Government and the Council, Prince Lvoff declared that if necessary the Government would resign. M. Guchkoff spoke of the military situation. M. Shingareff of the food question, and M. Terechtchenko of the danger of a split with the Allies.

Varied Views on the Note.

M. Nekrasoff, after touching on his own Ministry – Ways and Communications [sentence obscured] saying that it meant nothing new or in any way contradictory to the original declaration. M. Tchkeidaev then pointed out the Councils objection to the Note.

"It obscures the aim of the war," he said, "and contains no word concerning the refusal of annexation and indemnity and this Note, received by the Allies might give them an untimely wrong idea of the position occupied by the democratic masses of Russia.

Another speaker asked that a new Note should be sent to the Allies M. Miliukoff said this was impossible. "We are bound to the Allies by complex obligations," he said, and he referred to the possibility of resistance on their side. He supported his case by showing a secret telegram which had been received the previous day. Prince Lvoff spoke of the impossibility of a new Note to the Allies.

Thereupon representatives of the Council declared that the information given them compelled them to meet the Government halfway. The Temporary Government should explain to the Russian citizens the meaning of the Note. Further they declared definitely that in the present circumstances the resignation of the Temporary Government was not to be thought of. Finally, they agreed that an explanation should be prepared in time for special sitting of the Council the same evening.

Excitement in the Streets.

Meanwhile in the town the excited condition of the people was obvious. There were crowds in the streets. Due to the wise orders of the Council there were very few armed soldiers. This was one of the principal causes why the crisis passed off without serious results. Extremist showed less self-restraint.

Crowds of well – dressed people and students, shouting and waving hats, rushed through the streets, shouting "Long live Miliukoff! Long live the Temporary Government!" In the Nevsky Prospect in the afternoon I met three processions of Leninites with banners, "Down with the Government!" All were obviously poor folk. Many were women, headed in each case by a small body of civilians with rifles. Near the Town Hall they met their opponents.

Shots were fired, and one man was killed and two wounded. Later in the evening there was a similar outbreak of shooting, and the threatening situation was brought home to the meeting of the Council, who was discussing the Governments explanation. A more serious conflict took place at ten o'clock.

Throughout the day the Council was working tirelessly to prevent manifestations. News was reaching them, now from one quarter, now from another, that the workers were leaving the factories to demand an explanation of the Note. The Council persuaded them to await the result of the discussion. At five o'clock they received the text of the explanation, making it clear that the original declaration holds good.

Explanation Accepted.

By a majority of five, the Executive Committee of the Council decided to invite the Council to accept the explanation as satisfactory, and consider the incident closed. It should particularly be noted that even those who opposed this agreed that the Government should be left in power.

At a great evening meeting of the Council M. Tseretelli read the Governments explanation. All except the extremist agreed in accepting it. The Council passed a resolution prohibiting all manifestations during the next two days, and begging the citizens to preserve calm, and asking that nothing shall break the peaceful course of life in free Russia.

"He who leads to disorder is an enemy of the people," they said. They also took special measures to see that the resolutions were adequately published in the barracks and factories. While the Council was less engaged in securing peace the extremist – both Imperialist and Leninites – were still manifesting. There were great demonstrations of the bourgeoisie before the Ministry of War when M. Guchkoff and M. Miliukoff spoke. The demonstrators afterwards went to the British Embassy

Summing up the crisis, I think it's effect has been to show clearly, first, how very great is the actual power of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies; and, second, how wisely that power is used in avoiding threatened conflict. The Council, while making it clear they will suffer no tampering with the spirit of the original Note, have also once again shown that they are against a separate peace, and have given the lie to those who accused them of wishing to overthrow the Government. I think it no exaggeration to say that but for the prompt action of the Council the ambiguities of the Note to the Allies might have had results disastrous to everybody concerned.

DN May 11, 1917.

Proposed Coalition.

Serious Danger of Dual Control.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The question of a Coalition Ministry is being actively discussed, with the idea of avoiding such misunderstandings as that of M. Miliukoff's Note. Some influential members (the Moderate Party which is the majority) in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates are in favor of representatives of Labor holding more seats than one in the Cabinet. A considerable section of the bourgeois Press is also in favor of a Coalition Ministry as a means of avoiding so – called dual power. As I have more than once explained, there is no dual power. Only one or two members of the Government are impatient of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates control. Others have more than once expressed their satisfaction at this lessening of the burden of responsibility.

I have personally followed very carefully the development of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, and I believe it not impossible that – Coalition Government might mean the creation of dual authority, instead of its avoidance. The reason is this. The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, as at present constituted, controls a great bulk of the population in Petrograd, where, it must be remembered, the Government sits. It does not control the more impatient Imperialist or the more impatient Pacifist, who have shared between them the responsibility for last week's misfortunes.

Now, if a Coalition Government is formed, it might easily mean that the C.W.S.D. would pass from the hands of the Moderates, who would be

supporting their representatives in the temporary Government, into the hands of the Extremist, who hitherto have been controlled by the C.W.S.D. as a whole. The workers and soldiers who have been accustomed to look upon the C.W.S.D. as the peculiar champion, would unconsciously transfer their allegiance to the new C.W.S.D. and the Government strengthened though it might be by democratic representatives, would find itself in the presence of irresponsible power outside itself, ??? as now, supported and controlled by an authority whose wisdom and moderation has won admiration even from those who were at first its enemies.

Miliukoff's Imperialism.

So long as M. Miliukoff remains Foreign Minister, so long there is always possible further disagreement or misunderstanding, simply because democracy, which is clearly against Imperialism, cannot feel at ease while its foreign business is being transacted by a man who scarcely lets a week pass without demonstrating his own diametrically opposite views.

There would be no objection whatever to M. Miliukoff as, for example, Minister for Education. As Minister of Foreign Affairs I have heard M. Plekhanoff's name mentioned. Criticism was really directed against M. Guchtkoff because of his support of Stolypin. He is still ill, and from several quarters it is suggested that it is impossible for him to fulfill the duties of both War and Naval Minister.

DN. May 12, 1917.

**Socialist & Peace.
International Conference Called.**

Petrograd, Friday.

The Labor section of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates has passed a resolution that the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates shall take upon itself the summoning of an International Socialist Conference. The necessary condition was stated to be the representation of all Socialist parties without exception. Appeal is to be made to all peoples, and especially to the Socialist of Allied countries, to be prepared. A delegation from the Executive Committee is to be sent to Allied and neutral countries, and the delegation in Stockholm for settling the

preliminaries of the conference. The resolution was passed without opposition, and the extremist refrained from voting.

A Probable Coalition.

Thursday.

It seems clear that a Coalition Ministry of some kind will be formed, also that representatives of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates are fully alive to the danger of shifting the center of gravity of the Council which possibly was discussed in yesterday's telegram. M. Kerensky's letter, addressed to the Labor and Social Revolutionary Parties and to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates states his opinion that the situation has radically changed since the days when he, relying on the confidence of the Council, took part in the Temporary Government as the representative of democracy.

"During the ensuing weeks the business of Government has become more complex, and on the other hand Russian democracy has organized itself. Representatives of democracy are needed in the Government, but the time has come when they should be elected, not thrust into position by force of circumstances." He practically asks for the election of himself and of others, but meanwhile he intends to continue the fulfillment of his duties while awaiting the decision.

The Extremist.

This letter will probably be decisive in effect on the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates. Further, Prince Lvoff last night addressed a letter to M. Chkheidze referring to the Temporary Government's desire to include representatives of those sections of the people which have not yet taken a direct part in the Government, and asking that M. Chkheidze should bring this before the Executive Committee of the Council.

It is possible that a satisfactory via media may be found of avoiding future possible misunderstandings, and also of avoiding the grave danger of weakening the Council. In this connection it is worthy of notice that Lenin and the extremist, evidently putting their faith in their agitation, are already impugning the authority of the present leaders of the Council. This, however, should be difficult in view of the fact that the present Executive Power

Committee of the Council has been approved not only by the Petrograd Council, but also by the All Russia Conference.

Stockholm Conference.

Another matter engaging extreme interest is coming before the Stockholm Conference with a view to establish an international agreement of the proletariat on acceptable peace terms. Opinions even among the extremist vary widely, but one thing is quite clear. If English and French representatives are absent the agitators will make great use of the fact in propaganda against England and France.

Most interesting here are the views of the extremist and Leninites. Lenin will have nothing to do with Scheidemann, whom he describes as the agent of Imperialistic Germany. Skobeleff, who presented a report on the subject to the Labor section of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, referred to the fact that not only in Germany, but also in other countries, the Socialist have shared the views of their Governments, but that the three years' war and the Russian revolution has made a considerable change in their outlook.

O. May 13, 1917.

Russia's Difficulties.

Conflict Of Head And Heart.

Perils Of A Coalition.

Allies "Minimum Peace Terms.

Petrograd, May 11.

The Government's explanation that M. Miliukoff's Note did not mean the slightest change in the original declaration of Russia's war aims, namely, that the nation desired no indemnity, has relieved the situation, which though at one time threatening, was saved by the proclamation of the Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates against any kind of demonstration, a proclamation which was absolutely obeyed. The Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates were also able to prevent disturbances in the provinces, where also M. Miliukoff's Note had been misunderstood and had caused dissatisfaction.

The crisis has established certain definite facts: –

(1) Russia as a whole is against separate peace.

(2) The Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates is the most powerful organization in Russia, not "a handful of Petrograd pacifists." It is resolved to leave nothing undone to end the war not to by a separate peace, but by general agreement.

(3) That they expect the Allies to state their exact minimum peace terms, and that until this has been done it is impossible to stop the mouths of agitators against England.

Coalition Chance.

Yesterday's meeting of the members of all the four Dumas illustrated very clearly the cleavage between the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and the Imperialistic Party here, but, on the other hand, allowed that Prince Lvoff looks on the revolution with the same kind of enthusiasm as that which fills the humanitarian utterances of the Council. The possibility of a coalition under his leadership is, therefore, possible, and is made, indeed, probable by the Governments invitation to M. Cheidze to raise the question of a coalition in the Committee of the Council. M. Kerensky, who was very ill, also expressed himself in favor of this. If it can be managed without weakening the hold of the Moderates on the Council, and so on the nation, the results may be very good. If, however, it results in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates passing into the hands of the Extremist, a Coalition Government might find itself, in a far worst, situation than now, when the Government is steadily supported by the Council.

In considering Russia's future in the war, however, it is quite useless to blind oneself to the fact that, with the best will in the world, Russia's leaders and the Russian people may find circumstances too strong for them. The Coalition question is unsettled because M. Cheidze has been summoned to Schlusselburg, where, only 25 miles from the capital, has been proclaimed an independent Republic. The heritages from the old regime of disorganized transport and diminished food supply, intensified by the unrest, are causing an inefficient sowing of the corn, which may become a factor not less important here than in the other warring countries. Everything possible is being done, but it must be remembered that a revolution on the Russian scale is something elemental, especially when the great bulk of the population, kept uneducated

under the old regime, known only its own sufferings and needs and has not the means of realizing the significance of events in the wider theater.

"Full Of Liberty."

On the Northern Front General Ruzsky, worn out by old illness and recent anxieties, has been succeeded by General Dragomiroff, a fighting general and enthusiast for the war and popular with the men. The peasants soldiers, full of liberty, equality, and fraternity, repel German attacks, but are unwilling to attack themselves, but, on the contrary, are, wherever possible, striking up friendship with the opposing troops. Considerable bodies of men visit and fraternize with the enemy.

This is not an unnatural psychological result of the Revolution, and it is notable that it is reflected among the Austrians, who themselves, prevented the Hungarians from capturing a body of Russians who had come across to visit them. If the Germans were to attack they would meet with strong and indignant resistance, but at present they are refraining from any kind of provocation. It is impossible to be very optimistic, but from the Allies point of view the real danger for the future lies in insufficient sympathy and understanding of the actual situation.

DN. May 15, 1917

Critical Days In Russia.

Dramatic Declaration by M. Kerensky.

War Minister Resigns.

Petrograd, Sunday.

M. Tchkeidze has returned from Schlusselfurg, where he found the affair there had been much exaggerated, and that there are no grounds for serious apprehensions. True, the convicts were doing sentry work about the powder factories, but they were doing it very well, and have so earned the confidence of the Schlusselfurgers that when some £8000 was to be brought from Petrograd for the factory four convicts were entrusted with the task of fetching it.

Speeches made at the conference of delegates from the front illustrate very well the present political situation. For example, M. Miliukoff for the first time himself admitted that Russia abandons all pretensions to Constantinople. M. Gutchkoff, the War Minister, described the military effect of the revolution. With regard to munitions supply, in spite of all difficulties the situation is better than two months ago.

Food Shortage.

Food and forage conditions are in the highest degree unsatisfactory. Sometimes there is an 80% forage shortage. He spoke of the changes in the Staff brought about by the revolution. Favoritism had been destroyed, and the new watch word is, "Make way for talent." Colonels at the beginning of the war now command armies. Swift promotion has gone to those who have been shown to deserve it. But though M. Gutchkoff was applauded, and though he brought with him a feeling that the moment was indeed serious and one where every effort was needed, not until M. Kerensky spoke was the conference made to feel that these days are critical for the future of Russia and the future of freedom. His was not a cheerful speech, but one of ringing honesty.

Each one of us (he said) must recognize his responsibility for his every word, his every deed, in these times. Soldiers, this time may come when we shall tell you we are not in a position to give you as much bread as you expect and the equipment on which you have the right to count. This will not be our fault, who took upon ourselves the heavy burden of rule.

Are we a free Russian nation or a band of mutinous slaves? I do not know how to lie to the people or how to hide the truth from the nation. I address myself to you because my strength is failing. I have not my former confidence that before us are not mutinous slaves but responsible citizens.

He paused, and then at the top of his voice continued:

"They say there is no more need of the front since there is already fraternity. Is there fraternity on the two – front question? Are the troops fraternizing in France? Fraternity is all very well when both sides fraternize, but, comrades, are not the forces of the enemy already flung across to the Anglo – French front? We have no Russian front. There is only one united front. We advance towards peace, and I would not be in the ranks of the temporary Government if the fulfillment of the people's will to end the war was not the task of the whole Government.

The Open Road.

"But there are roads and roads. There are broad open roads and also dark and shadowy lanes where a man may easily lose both honor and life. We wish to bring this fratricidal war to an end, but we must go by the open road. We are not a group of weary folk. We are a nation."

The speaker paused again, then went on:

"Would that I had died two months ago, when I should have died with a great dream that once for all in Russia a new life flamed into being."

"The moment has come when everyone in the depth of his conscience as a man must consider whither he is going and whither he is leading others."

Then came the dramatic moment when M. Tseretelli rose to ask M. Kerensky a question. "Who are those who do not recognize the responsibility that lies upon them? I do not think this refers to organize democracy, to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates."

M. Kerensky passionately replied in the negative, saying that if his words could have been applied to the Council he would himself already have resigned from that body. M. Tseretelli, speaking later said:

"I categorically declare that I put that question knowing beforehand what Kerensky would answer. I put it because there are irresponsible bourgeois circles who sow disorder by their statements that there is disagreement between the Temporary Government and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates. I put that question in order to be able to throw Kerensky's reply in their faces."

That dramatic incident sums up the situation

DN. May 17, 1917.

**Kerensky's Power.
Eloquent Plea in Favor of Coalition.**

Petrograd, Tuesday.

The question of a Coalition Ministry, which was not settled by the majority of one against it in the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, has again been brought forward with urgency as the result of the M. Gutchkoff's resignation. This resignation is due to the state of the Army and Navy, which is further illustrated by the fact that, following Generals Btusiloff and Gourke offering their resignation.

M. Kerensky's speech at the conference of delegates from the front summed up the tragedy of the situation. It was followed next day by a meeting of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, where an appeal to the soldiers against fraternizing with the enemy was passed without opposition, the extremist declining to vote.

A new appeal for a Coalition Ministry has been made by the Government, and yesterday under the presidency of M.Tehkheaden, a further meeting of the Executive Committee was held to consider the situation. M. Kerensky once again did signal service to his country, speaking in favor of a Coalition. He succeeded in persuading M.Tserete, who hitherto has opposed, that the Coalition is the best solution of the crisis. The question was then considered there and then in the Tauris Palace by the various parties, after which, by 41 votes against 19 (two not voting), a resolution was passed that the representatives of the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates shall enter the Ministry.

The question will be considered tonight in full Counsel, hitherto there has been no case of the Council disagreeing with a view of the Executive Committee. The most important condition likely to be made is that the representatives of the Socialist party's entering the Ministry shall be responsible to the All Russian Assembly of the Council, and until that meets to the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates.

This may meet the difficulty that a Coalition Ministry might mean a weakening of the hold of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates on the people, or shifting the authority to the Council to more irresponsible sections. It is not settled what changes there shall be in the Ministry, but Kerensky is suggested as Minister of War. Skebeloff, Bagdanoff, and Plekhanoff all mentioned as possible Ministers.

DN. May 18, 1917.

End Of A Crisis.

Meaning of Miliukoff's Resignation.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

M. Miliukoff's resignation ends for the moment an extraordinary struggle which will certainly, sooner or later, recommence. The Socialist at first refused to enter the ministry while M. Miliukoff remained a member. Then they agreed to join if M. Miliukoff became Minister of Education instead of remaining Foreign Secretary. This he refused, and Prince Lvoff, the Premier, declared that M. Miliukoff's presence as Foreign Minister was a kind of guarantee to the Allies of Russia's loyalty.

Those of the Allies who have the means of knowing how dangerous a source of discord in Russia was the presence as Foreign Minister of a man whose views were directly opposed to those of the new democracy took another view. It had already become clear that the dissatisfaction with M. Miliukoff, which changed, after shifting the responsibility of the famous Note, to dissatisfaction with the Government was spreading wider, and seemed likely to become dissatisfaction with the Allies, who were represented, probably incorrectly as using their influence to keep M. Miliukoff in position.

Position of the Cadets.

From the point of view of the Allies, the resignation should mean not a change in Russia's foreign policy, but simply that the Russians foreign-policy will be less ambiguously expressed, and, further, that the expression will not be accompanied by outburst of disapproval on the part of those who, "when Miliukoff was Council," felt themselves in the perpetual danger of misrepresentation. The new Foreign Minister is Tereshtchenko, the former Minister of Finance. M. Kerensky's appointment as Minister of War and Marine offers more hope than any other that the disorganization of the Army and Navy will be brought to an end. M. Kerensky is very ill, but he has won the confidence of all men. His tremendous conviction and unswerving realization of the principles of democracy will help him in the fulfillment of the hardest task any Minister of War has ever had.

The situation with regard to other Ministers is not yet clear. The Cadets, the most disciplined political party in Russia, and possibly Shingareff and Manuiloff will be forced to follow their leader, Miliukoff from the Ministry. Nekragoff, setting his country before his party, remains in the Ministry, and leaves the Cadets. He was elected to the Duma as a Progressive, not a Cadet, and, therefore, though he has since joined the party, he cannot count himself bound to follow its decisions.

The debate on the Coalition Ministry in the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates was remarkable for the wisely balance speech of M. Tseretelli, who carried the gathering with him against the extremist, who, insisting on immediate class warfare, wish the Council to take the whole power, and not merely enter the Coalition. The program of the Coalition is to struggle for a general peace on the basis of self – definition of peoples without indemnity, together with a strengthening both of the front and rear, so that the campaign for peace shall not bring with it disaster for the revolution.

Three New Ministries.

By the creation of three new Ministries, Labor, Supply, Post and Telegraphs, the Cabinet is to be enlarged. The Socialist who will enter the Ministry are probably Malyantevitch, Tchernoff, Pyesbakhonoff and Skobeleff. Further, the Social Revolutionary, Avksentieff will have a responsible post in the Foreign Office. All details will be settled during the next two days. On the other hand, it would be too optimistic to consider that the formation of the Coalition solves all difficulties. It may mean the weakening of the hold the moderates on the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates, while the Council retains its hold on the workers and soldiers, with the result that the Coalition Ministry may find itself faced by an opposition from below; whereas the old Ministry, excepting Miliukoff, was supported. The Council is wisely trying not to weaken itself by sending members into the Government, but there are already signs of a serious split caused by an attempt of the extremist to sow distrust of the moderates

DN. May 19, 1917.

Russian Crisis Ending.

The Coalition Cabinet Completed.

6 Socialist Included.

Petrograd, Thursday.

The political crisis is nearing its end. The real drama that concentrated round M. Miliukoff's retirement has been fought out in the chairs beside Council tables, and, thanks to the authority of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates, has not been transferred to the streets. Until last night it seemed possible that M. Miliukoff might take the portfolio of Education, but he has definitely left the Ministry. The new Foreign Minister, M. Tereabtkchenko, is a brilliant and highly – educated young man, rich sugar manufacturer, with an extraordinary career, who for some time managed the opera at the Marie Theater.

Delegates from the great peasant conference, which meets today, have asked that the final decision be postponed till the peasants can express their views, but later recognizing the urgency of settlement, and approving both the proposed names of the new Ministers and the declaration, they withdrew the request. The two Cadet Ministers, Manuiloff and Shingareff, returned to the Cabinet yesterday formed by the Cadet leaders, who announced that the Cadets are preparing a special mandate for them in the event of their remaining. Manuiloff may keep his old post, while Shingareff may fill the posts of Finance and Supply, though it is more likely that the latter post will be given to a Socialist.

M. Kerensky has already taken up his duties as Minister of War and Marine. The new Minister of Justice will probably be the Moscow lawyer, M. Malyptevitch.

The latest news gives the portfolio of Agriculture to M. Tehanoff, who recently returned from exile to England. Skobeleff will be the Minister of Labor. This post was offered to Tchkheden in the first days of the revolution, but after his refusal was not actually brought into existence. Other names confidently mentioned are Pyeshekhonoff and Tseretelli. The latter has great influence in the Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, and I heard last night he believes he can better serve Russia by remaining there, since on the solidarity of the

Council, which is seriously threatened by the Coalition, depends the support of the Government.

O. May 20, 1917.

**Russia Finding Herself.
Rehabilitation Of The Army.
M. Kerensky's Great Task.**

Petrograd, May 18.

The Coalition Government has been at last formed. Everybody, except the Cadets regard M. Miliukoff's resignation as a promise of a less troubled political future, but it is regrettable that the disagreements to which his presence and views gave rise have undoubtedly strengthen the Extreme Left of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, which will oppose the Coalition and will certainly try to capture the hold which the Council has on the soldiers and people. Also, it is to be regretted that he insisted on the fact that the Allies were given confidence by his presence. The impression has got abroad that he was kept in his position by the influence of the Allies, who, consequently, began to share his unpopularity.

The results of the Coalition, as it affects the Foreign Office, may be summarized in the statement Russia's actual foreign policy, while not changing with the change of Minister, will be more clearly expressed. With M. Terestchenko as Foreign Minister and the Socialist M. Avksentieff as his Chancellor, misunderstandings between the Government and the democratic organization on questions of external politics should be impossible. The principal source of internal dissension being thus removed, our Ally has been definitely strengthened by the change.

The policy of the majority of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and of the Coalition Government with regard to the war will be published this evening or tomorrow. It will insist that a pure defensive is impossible, as it plays into the hands of the Germans. It will point out, as M. Kerensky in yesterday's speech has already pointed out, that the fraternization on one front means a possible concentration of German troops on another. The disorganization of the Army, however, has gone very far. Troops melt away during their journey to the Army and troops in the trenches translate literally

such phrases as "defensive war." This for them means "not advancing." "Without annexation" means you must not annex your opponents trench.

The task before M. Kerensky, instilling these millions of simple, honest, most illiterate men with an understanding of the actual situation, needs no exaggeration. No other man in Russia could attempt it with hope of success. But M. Kerensky, an avowed anti—Imperialist and at the same time profoundly convinced of the absolute necessity of a Russian advance, who has earned the confidence of the Army, who can move the people like no other orator in Russia, will attempt this task with a real chance of success. The resignation of Generals Brussiloff and Gourko are not to take effect.

Opposed to M. Kerensky are only the extremist, who will continue their propaganda of fraternization with the enemy, besides doing their utmost to undermine the authority of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which hitherto has been unquestioned. There is, however, really more hope today than at this time last week, in spite of disquieting news of anarchical conditions in many country districts, which will have a bad effect on the food supply.

This last is the real danger. There is corn in the country, but in the disturbed conditions the peasants in many places are unwilling and determined not to give it up, of course not realizing the appalling effects that may follow. Yesterday the great peasant conference met here, and this, while expressing the will of the peasants, and therefore in itself important, will react on the provinces when the delegates go home after obtaining an insight into the actual condition of affairs.

I think there is little doubt that the peasants will express themselves definitely in favor of the vigorous prosecution of the war, while endorsing the view of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and the Coalition that measures should be taken in conjunction with the Allies to make possible a speedy general peace, which is felt by them the first essential for a settlement without disaster of Russia's internal affairs.

DN. May 22, 1917.

Turning Point For Russia.

Awaiting Allies Reply to Declaration.

Kerensky's Effort.

Petrograd, Sunday.

The Coalition Government has been formed with a single definite object, the salvation of Russia and of the Revolution, which is threatened by the rising tide of anarchy, by disorganization and decomposition in the Army, and by the continuance of the war beyond the strength of the country. The main plank in the common platform of the Coalition is the demand, not for a separate piece, but for a general peace.

M. Kerensky is making a great effort to restore discipline to the Army. Armed with the right to make private soldiers into officers, armed also with the confidence of the Army, he may achieve a miracle, but he will only achieve it with the definite purpose of forcing Germany to agree to a peace on the basis of the words of the Foreign Minister. His task will be lightened and if the Allies take the wind out of the sails of the anti-Ally propaganda in the Army by clearly expressing agreement with Russia.

I do not think it an exaggeration to say that the Coalition Government will stand or fall by the Allies reply to its declaration. If the Coalition is broken by failure in the main task it set itself it will have small chance of resisting attacks from the extremist, who regard its very formation as a concession. If the Coalition falls then the biggest democracy in Europe may be faced both by internal anarchy and by isolation from the West. The danger that is greatest at the present moment is to let the wish be father to the thought, and to dream that in a month or two Russia will return to the point of view she never really held.

Russia has reached the actual turning point in her foreign relations. The next few weeks will decide the future both of Russian democracy and of Anglo – Russian relations.

DN. May 25, 1917.

**Army Canker In Russia.
Towns Full Of Peace Agitators.
Lynchings.
Allies Declaration Awaited.**

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The Council of Peasant Deputies has passed a resolution supporting the present Government, and recognizing the Socialist Ministers as its own representatives. It will be remembered that the peasants wished to have a say in the formation of the Coalition, but instantly withdrew their claim on learning of the urgency of decision, thereby setting an example to the Cadets, whose party discipline, though in itself much to be admired, did actually protract the recent crisis.

M. Kerensky has issued appeals for discipline in the Army, and is himself speaking to one regiment after another even walking to the railway station with the reserves starting for the front. An effort is to be made to exert control on the agitators, who are to be admitted within the front zone only by the military committees. Towns in the immediate rear are full of agitators, and the simple soldiers too often take the line of least resistance. The soldier is a peasant before he is a soldier, and when he hears that land is being divided up naturally he fears to lose his share.

Fewer Desertions.

Desertion, however, is at least lessening, which may be taken as a sign of growing understanding in the Army. Characteristic of most cases is the seizure of land and the cutting down of forest. In one district soldiers levied a tax in their own favor from the rich oil men and manufacturers, basing their demands on the ascertained profits of the unwilling taxpayers. Lynching is growing in frequency of numbers of horse thieves, who, as always, get short shrift.

Meanwhile, fraternization on the front has been stopped on some sections. Extremist continue to urge fraternization as a means of "forcing the bourgeois to end the war." The extremist are in the minority among articulate Russians, but they have a disproportionate influence among what the Russians themselves call the "dark masses" meaning by this the uneducated people, on

whose ignorance agitators play in a most shameless manner, insisting always on the supposed distinction between the aims of the Allies and of the Russians.

To Reunite the Army.

The more serious newspapers eagerly await the Allies declaration, believing that if the Allies and the Russians can agree on an absolutely definite statement of war aims, the onus of prolonging the war will fall on the Germans, so that it may be possible to reunite the Army and persuaded it to advance.

As I foresaw, the extremist are already attacking the Coalition as a "War Cabinet." This does not lighten their task. If, however, the Allies declaration cuts the ground under the feet of the agitators, Kerensky's influence is such that the situation may yet to be saved.

DN. May 29, 1917.

**Russian Army – Better News.
Soldier Committees Have Good Effect.**

Petrograd, Sunday.

M. Kerensky's declaration of soldiers' rights were published today together with an appeal from the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates, ending with the words: "We shall know how to show that the free army of citizen soldiers is far stronger than the Army of the old regime." Reports from the front are more cheerful, and technically the Army is better equipped than ever before. M. Kerensky has been received with great enthusiasm. In speaking against fraternization he said he had photographs showing that in all sections of the front where this had taken place the enemy have profited by the knowledge gained to destroy Russian positions with artillery fire.

The formation of Regimental Soldier Committees, which at first many thought would destroy discipline, has been the salvation of the Army. These committees are like organized public opinion. In dealing out justice they are stricter than the old system. An interesting reversion to primitive methods of social punishment is noticeable in the soldiers desire to brand deserters by fastening the letter D on their uniforms, and even here in Petrograd by the new form of perambulating pillory.

This afternoon in the main street I met a soldier and a civilian militiamen escorting a most woebegone prisoner, with his hands tied behind him and the placard on his chest, and another on his back, stating in big, red and black lettering that he had stolen bread and flour from a wounded soldier. A crowd followed, and at intervals the prisoner was stopped and turned round so that the crowd read both the inscriptions.

Railway Trouble.

Order in Petrograd is very good, and on the front is swiftly improving. On the railways in the rear, however, soldiers are out of hand. They make impossible demands for the speeding of overcrowded trains, and when this is refused then sometimes go so far as to beat the local railway officials. Furthermore, country committees are neither as wise nor as authoritative as those of Petrograd and Moscow, and are unable to prevent the burning of country houses and other excesses. These nearly always follow the looting of wine and spirit stores.

M. Kerensky has issued a special order referring to this, and saying: "If this goes on, the young freedom of Russia will be drowned in a drunken sea of robbery, arson, and outrage." The worst danger, of course, is the artificial stirring up of disorders by Monarchist, who hope to lead Russia through anarchy back to despotism. This, however, is impossible. Conference after conference meets in Petrograd, and though actually they are not of great importance in themselves except to show how nearly the Council of Soldiers and Workers have voiced the Russian nation, they are invaluable as grouping points for the men who return from them into the remote parts of Russia, and help, as far as possible, to keep opinion homogeneous.

Peasants on main points differ very little from those of the Council of Soldiers and Workers Deputies, who, once mistrusted by certain elements of the bourgeoisie, are now generally recognized as the greatest organized political force in Russia, without the support of which the Government would be powerless.

Socialist Assistance.

The Socialist Ministers have made a report to the Executive Committee of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies especially concerned with the steps taken to clearing up Russia's intentions in foreign affairs. The Committee

passed a vote of confidence in the Socialist Ministers and in the Temporary Government to which they belong.

In comparison with the peasants and the Soldiers and Workers discussions, the assembly of the Cadet Party of National Freedom carries very much less weight than could have been foreseen three months ago. Internally well-organized, they have lost a great part of such popular external support as was given them before the revolution, when they did invaluable work in standing up to the old regime.

DN. May 30, 1917.

No Annexations.

Workers' Council's Demand of the Allies.

Petrograd, Monday.

The official organ of the Council of Soldiers and Workers Deputies publishes an article entitled "Clearness Essential," discussing the Allies attitude towards the new Russian war aims, and particularly the statement in the Allied newspapers that those aims coincide with those of the Allies. The article, printed as it is in the organ of the body on whose support the existence of the Government depends, is significant.

"The temporary Government," it states, "has said definitely and firmly announced no annexations and no indemnities. If, after this, it decides on an offensive, then it will do this in the firm belief that on the same platform stand the nations allied with ourselves. It is essential to remind the Allies of this. They must clearly and definitely reply 'Yes' or 'No'. An affirmative reply would be followed by an invitation to begin pour parlers. In case of a negative, then the Allied Governments will be taking on themselves the same responsibility for the continuation of the war as the Governments of Austria and Germany."

After insisting that there must be no ambiguity, the article ends: "The declarations of the French and English Governments in their Parliaments, in spite of kind greetings, do not satisfy and cannot satisfy, the revolutionary democracy of Russia. Our comrades and Ministers will take care that the positions shall be made clear, and that it is most important for humanity that

of all questions that of war and peace shall not be drowned in the waters of diplomatic eloquence."

DN. June 4, 1917.

**The Crisis In Russia.
Government's Heavy Task.
Minister Resigns.
Armed Anarchist In Petrograd.**

Petrograd, June 1.

Information as to the state of the Army is very contradictory, but I have direct information from three fronts bearing out what was expected – namely, that reorganization would begin in the North and move South. On the Northern front, commanded by General Dragomired, discipline has been reestablished, but the position on the more southern sectors, especially on the Rumanian front, continues to cause some anxiety. On the middle front, however, certain corps are in excellent condition, and are both ready and capable of advancing.

M. Kerensky continues his efforts to put into the Army a better spirit. Speaking at Odessa he described how the obvious weakening of the Russian Army is rousing imperialist instincts in Germany. He told of how one Russian Regiment concluded peace with Germany. A document was signed by two Russian non-coms, and a German officer, based on a simple interpretation of "without annexation," the Russians agreeing not to take Vienna and Kovno. M. Kerensky said: "When we say peace without annexation we address ourselves to the Germans, who as yet are unwilling to agree. It means, 'Kind sires, go home to Germany.' If they do not listen, then we must chase them back. Is not that clear?"

Allies War Aims.

Other speakers are doing their best to undo M. Kerensky's work, pointing out, as I first saw some time ago, the absence of any joint Allied statement of war aims. M. Kerensky's opponents say that he is rousing the Army to advance before he has secured guarantees that Germany alone requires convincing. The official organ of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Deputies is again insisting on the need of an Allied agreement, and other extremist are resuming

their activities, asking: "What has the Coalition Government done towards peace?"

I believe myself that another crisis is not far off. Yesterday I met in the streets a procession of anarchist, armed sailors, and workmen civilians, with black beards and cloaks, bearing a black banners inscribed,, "Long live the commune! Down with the government!" This in Petrograd. In the provinces it is impossible to exaggerate the difficulties of the Administration. At Kieff great numbers of deserters mutinied, probably provoked to do so by policeman of the old regime from the front. At one time they held in the lower town. They were armed with the machine guns, which, however, were not used, although there was considerable revolver fighting.

On the Rumanian front and in the South the position of affairs, as I have indicated is not very satisfactory. Bessarabia is a stronghold of the Monarchist, while on the other side there are the peasants, who are reported to be seizing private lands and to be committing other extremes. This makes the situation of the Army in Romania the more difficult, and while this sort of thing continues in the rear their position is a most unenviable one.

There is also grave trouble in Finland, where strikes, etc. are causing great disorganization and trouble to the authorities. At Abo there is a general strike. The latest news is that the Russian garrison, in view of the fact that we are in a time of war, threatened to put down the strikes if they were not at once ended. Since the day before yesterday there has been no move whatever. The rouble is going down in Finland, and a loan is to be made to fix the exchange. Meanwhile, speculators are profiting as usual.

DN. June 5, 1917.

Russian Contrasts.

Children Playing Ball at the Winter Palace.

Petrograd, Saturday

In the general topsy-turvydom of the revolution it seemed in no way odd to be asked to lunch in the Winter Palace, where now the Red Flag flies instead of the Imperial Standard.

In the Palace is honored the Committee for liquidating Polish Affairs. M Lednicki, the President of the Committee, and the possible future President of Poland, a well-known Polish lawyer practicing in Moscow, now lives in one of the Palace drawing-rooms. We lunched at the little table in the drawing – room.

Unity First.

"Will Poland be a monarchy or republic after the war?" I asked.

"Poland," Lednicki replied, "sets unity above form of government. That is, she would probably be willing to accept a Habsburg Prince if by that condition alone she could gain Polish Galicia." He is convinced that the war will end this autumn, and said, in view of that, it was to be hoped that England would give serious consideration to the Polish question, since a strong Poland was important to England no less than to Russia. But the idea on which M. Lednicki laid most stress was one which coincided very dearly with the recent proposal of the French Socialist. He said that Germans felt themselves stronger now than they were before the Revolution, and that Posen was no longer mentioned in their suggestion of a united independent Poland. He admitted also the difficulties these would be in the way of a united independent Poland having no outlet to the sea without the inclusion of Danzig. He said, however, that there would be no need to annex Danzig.

A Federal Russia.

"Why not?"

"Because," he replied, "of the future federal character of Western Russia, which would make a federal union of Poland, Lithuania, and Courland. This would mean a strong Poland, which would be to the interest of the Allies. It would also mean real political independence for Letts and Lithuanians. By way of a canal connecting the Vistala with the Niemen and Venta, it would give Poland an outlet by water to the Baltic at Libau.

Sunday.

The retirement of the Minister of Trade and Industry is a sign that the crisis is quite other than that caused by disagreement on foreign policy. M. Konovaloff resigned because he felt powerless in the circumstances to arrest the obviously growing disorganization of industry. Politically M. Konovaloff is as far "left" as is possible to be without being "comrade" instead of "bourgeois." If his successor is still further "left," I learn that there will be other resignations in the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

The reported anarchy in Kronstadt and the supposed proclamation of independence has been grossly exaggerated, although it is true a number of officers, arrested at the time of the revolution, are still imprisoned there and are very badly treated. As I suggested would happen when the Coalition was formed the extremists are making a tremendous effort to get control of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, and with that purpose or persuading the workers to hold new elections, hoping to reap the effects of the recent agitation.

Industrial Unrest.

The result is extreme unrest in certain factories. At one factory, where there was a dispute about the day of elections of the Representative Council, a foreman, who was also a member of the Council of Workmen and Soldiers, was seized by his political opponents, who kindly deciding not to throw him in the furnace, stuck him in a wheelbarrow and set off to drown him in the Neva. His supporters organized a rescue and saved him after a lively skirmish.

The official organ of the Workmen's Council takes a firm line against anarchy, which it recognizes as the best support to those who desire a counter-revolution. Energetic attempts are being made in certain provinces to stir up a counter-revolution among the uneducated. Priests in some districts preach of the presence of anti-Christ, and of the retribution that will follow the touching of the Lords anointed Emperor. I believe that the influence of the Workmen's and Soldiers Council is so widespread that such an agitation as this can do little harm.

Today is published an appeal to Socialist parties and other organizations throughout the world to send representatives to the Stockholm Conference on June 28.

DN. June 7, 1917.

**Russia's War Spirit.
Germans Expecting New Offensive.
Brusiloff's Task.**

Petrograd, Tuesday.

The substitution of General Brusiloff for General Alexeieff as Commander – in – Chief will silence those who grumbled at seeing the High Command still in the hands of a General personally closely associated with the old regime. General Alexeieff's great qualities will still be at the service of his country as military advisor to the Government, while General Brusiloff, with last year's success to back his authority, takes up the tremendous task of leading the revolutionary army and helping it to recover its feet. But even more significant of the new spirit in the Russian army is the sudden promotion of General Gutor, one of the youngest, if not actually the youngest General, to succeed In General Brusiloff as Commander – in – Chief of the South – West front.

When I was General Gutor's guest a year ago, he was a simple Corps Commander, with, as I heard his subordinates smilingly complain, an insatiable passion for being in the front line. I have ample opportunity of observing the extraordinarily friendly relations between the General and his men.

DN. June 8, 1917

**Anti-War Party In Russia.
M. Kerensky & His Tour of the Front
Hidden Influences.**

Petrograd, Wednesday.

M. Kerensky has returned from the front, has met his friends and his enemies, has replied to criticisms, and is left for the front again. His speech in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates contains one or two very significant phrases.

Asked whether he was satisfied with the results of his journey on the front, he replied: "I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that, for reasons which I do not understand, wherever I had and have influence there instantly begins especially energetic work directed against the will of the majority of the Russian democracy."

The problem raised by the arrest of great numbers of persons concerned with the old regime are very difficult. It must be remembered that there is a party continually clamoring for sterner treatment of those arrested, and that though many of them could justly be released they are much safer under arrest. M.

Pereverneff, with a view to hastening the trials, proposes the creation of district and Government Courts of Six Persons – three from the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates and three elected from public organizations. These Courts are to have the right to order arrest, not more than three months' imprisonment, or banishment.

Persons to be brought before the Courts belong to three categories. First those in the State service under the old regime who by their activities strengthened it to the detriment of the revolutionary tendencies. Second, private persons who by their activity help members of the old Government to the detriment of the revolution; and third, all persons whose activities threaten the safety of persons or of property.

This project has roused a lively debate, several members of the Government suggesting that it established conditions even more oppressive than under the old regime, and that the right of banishment might be used to destroy freedom of voting for the Constituent Assembly. It was suggested that it should apply only to those already arrested. The question is undecided, but I expect the proposals will be considerably modified.

DN June 9, 1917.

Russia's New Problems.

Government And Kronstadt.

The Ex-Czar.

Stormy Meeting Of The Workmen's Council.

Petrograd, Thursday.

The explanation of the Kronstadt affair suggested in my last telegram was proved to be the exact one by the wording of the revolution in which the Kronstadt Council of Workers and Soldiers delegates withdrew from its position. The Kronstadt Council has resolved to abide by the decision of the majority of revolutionary democracy in the Petrograd Council, which recognizes the present Temporary Government.

M.Tseretelli, who himself has had considerable experience of prisons, describes those at Kronstadt as the worst he has ever seen. The steps are to be taken for the speedy trial of prisoners. In considering the hardships of

Kronstadt towards those arrested, it should be remembered that Kronstadt under the old regime was a punishment station, whither were sent hard cases among men and probably very bitter memories are stored up there by the severity of officers.

Extremist and Czar.

While M. Tseretelli and M. Skobelev were succeeding in their diplomatic mission scenes of an unfortunate character were being enacted in the Labor section of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates. There was fierce criticism of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates as a whole, and it was suggested that it had lost power since the Socialist entered the Ministry.

While excited by this discussion this section passed on to consider a proposal that Nicholas II. should be removed from Tsarskoe Selo to the Peter and Paul Fortress. There were shouts for "ropes," and an amendment substituted Kronstadt for Peter and Paul. Another amendment suggested the Siberian gold mines. There was a general hullabaloo, after which a vote was taken on the proposal to remove Nicholas II. to Kronstadt. Only the extremist voted. All the other parties, in view of the absence of serious discussion, refrained

Cossacks and the People.

A disquieting symptom was the appeal issued by the Cossack section of the Council of the Guards' Army and sent to all the Cossack troops and districts. This appeal has the obvious object of isolating the Cossacks from the people with whom they were united after the revolution, and so creating an independent armed force, besides practically isolating Cossack lands into so many small States. The result would be that the Cossacks once more be a tempting weapon for use against the people as a whole by anybody that secured their allegiance, and the Cossacks themselves, who refused to assist the police on the memorable day when the revolution became inevitable, would once more be turned into a means of suppressing their fellow citizens.

O. June 10, 1917.

Russia's Travail.

General Brussiloff's Appointment.

Industrial Difficulties.

Petrograd, Saturday.

The events of the week have been symptomatic rather than intrinsically important. General Alexeieff is succeeded by General Brussiloff as Commander – in – Chief. This change, although no one has anything but praise for General Alexeieff as a man and a general, gives promise of smooth internal working of the army, as the Soldiers Committees get on well with General Brussiloff, who was quick to catch the new spirit of the time. General Gutor, who succeeds General Brussiloff as commander of the South-West front, was corps commander a year ago and was given an army at Easter. He has distinguished himself by personal courage and by a thorough understanding of men.

M. Kerensky has made a flying visit to Petrograd, where he dealt face-to-face with the agitation started against him and carried with him a huge majority at a meeting of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. He has hurried to the Northern front, where he is continuing his work of restoring the fighting spirit of the Army. His eloquence and personal magnetism conquer wherever he is, but it would be unwise to build too great hopes.

Sporadic Fighting.

Among last week's reports was an account of the skirmish in the Carpathians, where the Russians, led by a lieutenant who was killed, captured a machine gun. I think that we shall see a number of such incidents. Single men are using their personal influence in collecting men and doing in little what they think the Army should do as a whole. Such incidents are symptomatic of the spirit which is spreading in spite of the material difficulties, which unfortunately show no sign of lessening.

The Kronstadt Secession.

Symptomatic also was the affair of Kronstadt, which is now happily on the high road to liquidation. Here at the local council, led by extremist, voted that the Council of Soldiers and Workers should take all the power from the temporary

Government, and announced that it intended to act as if its vote had already been carried into effect. This by no means meant anarchy in Kronstadt, where perfect order was preserved, but it was symptomatic of the weakening of the central authority and the increase of local authority throughout Russia; that is, of the threatening disintegration which might end in anarchy indeed.

Officers and others who are confined in the abominable Kronstadt prisons which disgraced the old regime are to be removed to Petrograd.

The strike of clerks, which might have become general, has been postponed after a six hour day and other concessions have been granted on the part of the employer's. The coal dispute still threatens the industry of the country. A project for the State control of the coal supply is being prepared by the Ministry of Trade and Industry, which I believe will make the coal from the Donetz fields a State monopoly.

M. Konovaloff's retirement from the Ministry of Trade and Industry was symptomatic of the swiftly increasing difficulty of the industrial and economic situation. The agricultural outlook is slightly better than it was once supposed, in many districts the situation having been saved by the presence of numbers of deserters from the Army, who took part in the spring sowing, thus making up for the shortage in agricultural Labor.

DN June 12, 1917.

The Russian Struggle.

Between Extremist And Moderate.

Fists Used.

Intrigue To Keep Army Disaffected..

Petrograd, Sunday.

One thing is clear. In the present crisis the Government and the big Moderate majority in the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates stand or fall together. The Council's official organ refers to the dangers threatening the revolution from two sides. The feuding between the Moderates and the Extremist is higher than ever before.

The municipal elections are now proceeding, and are causing considerable bitterness. The elections are being fought on a party basis. The three main parties may be described as the Cadet, the Moderates, and the Extremist. During the last few days the first examples have occurred since the Revolution of political argument turning to political fisticuffs.

Conflict on a serious scale may be avoided, but for example, the "Pravda," the organ of the extremist, describes yesterday's order about the reformation of unwilling regiments as the first step in the "counter-revolutionary offensive." Cadet papers on the other hand, are scarcely less openly in speaking of the inevitability of conflict. Moderate papers show that there is big popular support behind the Coalition.

The Allied Declarations.

Declarations issued by the Allied Governments in reply to the Russian statement of aims were published yesterday. They have attracted less attention than what have been the case a week ago because of the tensions of local affairs. Gorky's paper, "The New Life," lays special stress on the French demand for Alsace and Lorraine, points out that these provinces were originally taken from Germany, and complains that the French Note does not mention a plebiscite of the Allied countries "maintained exclusively through Chauvinistic Socialist, kindly supplied to us by the British Fleet, with a view to expressing the feeling of the proletariat masses of Europe in a false light and then going back home to set the Russian Revolution there is a light just as false."

The "Labor Gazette" says the English and French bourgeoisie are ready to change their flag, "but under the flag they want to carry the old cargo." In the same article the paper says: "We do not want a separate peace, which we consider the greatest danger both for the Russian Revolution and for freedom in Europe. We want peace on an international scale." Military danger does not yet threaten the Russian Revolution from Allied Imperialist, but such a danger is threatened by German and Austrian Imperialist. For German imperialism it is essential to defeat the Imperialism of England and France. Once revolutionary Russia does not conclude a separate peace she is the enemy of Imperialistic Germany and our revolution may be ruined by German troops. "The destruction of the Russian Revolution" the paper goes on, "would mean the failure of Western European democratic government also."

Appeal for Offensive.

Proceeding to show the need of a Russian offensive, the writer points out that neither Russia alone, nor the Allies alone are strong enough to meet the armies of the Central Coalition, and that the defeat of the Allies would be followed by the defeat of Russia. "The need for an advance is not because the Anglo – French Imperialists are more amiable than the German, but because the defeat of their armies might lead to the defeat of the Russian Revolution."

In any case, the tension is not caused by the publication of the demands by the crews of three Baltic battleships that "Nicholas Romanoff" be transferred to Kronstadt under a guard of troops faithful to the revolution, there to await trial. The crew of one of three ships goes further and says: "We announce our decision for the third time, and intend no joking. We shall afterwards act with open force." There is real danger of a struggle between the Extremist and the Moderates.

German Tactics.

Meanwhile, Germans and Extremist alike are doing their most to keep the Russian Army in a state of flux.

The Germans, realizing that Letts were among those troops on the Northern front most eager to advance for the reconquest of their native Courland, have adopted special methods, even organizing motor trips into Courland for Lettish soldiers, who in many cases have been taken to visit their relatives in the captured province. The Germans are doing all that is possible to show them that all is well with Courland under German occupation, and the promise that it shall be an independent State after the war.

DN June 19, 1917.

Russia & The Allies.

Suggested New Treaty, But No Separate Peace.

Another Invitation Sent To Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

[The news from Russia continues to be good. Our special correspondent, Mr. Arthur Ransome, in another long telegrams shows that the All – Russia

Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates is overwhelmingly on the side of the Government, and against a separate peace with Germany.

A Russian refugee, who had returned from England, delivered a message from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to the Congress. This in effect was: "Shun a shameful separate peace." The Provisional Government has made a further declaration suggesting an inter- Allied Conference for the revision of existing agreements, except that relating to a separate peace.]

All Russia Congress.

Significance of M. Grimm's Expulsion.

Petrograd, Sunday.

Unless something quite unforeseen occurs it may already be taken as certain that the All Russia Assembly of the Council of Soldiers and Workers Deputies – which now at last even those who least like it are beginning to recognize as representative of the whole of Russia – will approve the work of the Coalition Government, and pass a vote of confidence which will strengthen its position in the future. The actual question of its attitude towards the Government will be discussed today, but by a fortunate accident the Assembly opened with an incident which has made the Assembly's point of view clear on more points than one.

It became known yesterday that the Swiss Socialist, Robert Grimm, had been asked to leave Russia, and that the Socialist Ministers, M.M. Skokeleff and Tseretelli, who had previously vouched for him (M. Kerensky in the Assembly associated himself with our action), had expressed themselves dissatisfied with his defense against proof presumptive of being a German agent, and in consequence had made an order for his expulsion. The Extremists raised the question the moment the Assembly opened, and a fierce discussion ended by the Assembly recognizing by ??? votes to 121 (14 not voting) that the Socialist Ministers action with regard to Grimm "corresponds to the interests of the Russian Revolution and International Socialism."

This may seem a small matter, but I think it probable that it sets the tone for the whole Assembly.

Extremists and Allies.

During the discussion M. Tseretelli amid howls of disapproval from the Extremist, made it quite clear that other persons acting in German interest would be treated in the same manner as Grimm. He was asked why Grimm was not in prison. He replied that if Grimm had been in prison certain Russians would have demanded his release, and certain other Russians whatever insisted that this demand should not be made, and serious disorders might have resulted.

The Extremist have literally gone very far. I have myself seen a motorcar with expensive red and gold flags rushing about Petrograd, with Extremists throwing out leaflets printed both in German and Russian, demanding the overthrow of the Government and the cessation of the war. These measures may well have been taken in recognition of the fact that the Allies' reply to Russia – including their willingness to reconsider agreements – and M. Teresktchenko's acknowledgment thereof, with its statement that among the agreements Russia wished to reconsider was not that which precluded a separate peace, have very much strengthened the position of the Government.

Russia's Only Path.

Both in the Duma and in the Assembly one thing is perfectly clear. Russia realizes that a speedy end to the war can only be obtained by an offensive, and that she must be united in a determination to fight against the forces of Germany, both open and secret. Russia is worn with long struggle, internal and external. She is suffering from diseases planted in her by the iniquities of the old regime. She is suffering, too, from the sudden rush of fresh air through the open windows of the sick-room. Her steps just now are faltering and difficult, but her heart is in the right place, and all that she can do will be done.

DN. June 22, 1917

**Russia's Steady Recovery.
Congress Demands an Offensive.**

Petrograd, Thursday.

The debate on the expulsion of M. Grimm made it clear that the Extremist have failed in capturing the Assembly, where they hold only about one – sixth of the total votes. Debate is still proceeding on their attitude towards the Government, but already it is almost certain that it will end by the passing of a vote of complete confidence.

[A later telegram than Mr. Ransome's states that a vote of confidence in the Government was passed, and also a resolution demanding an immediate offensive.]

It is intended that the Assembly shall last ten days, but it will not be surprising if it ends by creating some sort of Parliament to improve contact between the Government and the people, and so help in the formation of a real authority. This may be done by enlarging the Executive of the present Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, or by the creation of a new body.

Considerable interest was aroused by the speech of M. Lenin, who expressed the views of the Extremist in the clearest way. "Although they are in a minority," he said, "our party does not refuse authority. It is ready at any moment to take authority in its own hands." This statement was received with general laughter, as also was his naïve recipe for dealing with the economic problem. "Arrest a score or two of capitalist; keep them in the same conditions as those in which lives Nicholas Romanoff, and they will disclose to you all the clues and secrets of their enrichment. The capitalist must be arrested. Without this all your phrases will be empty words."

He was followed at the tribune by M. Kerensky who, during a series of skirmishes with the Extremist, declared that Finland and Ukraine were not problems to be dealt with by a temporary Government, but by a Constituent Assembly. He spoke against fraternization on the front. "I do not understand how people can think that when a Russian soldier gives a German soldier a crust of bread in exchange for a thimbleful of vodka he brings us nearer to the realm of Socialism."

M.Chernoff urged the need of a strong Army and the uselessness of giving ultimatums to the Allies. M. Theretelli also insisted on this point. "If the Allies reply with a negative are we to break with them? This we fear. We are afraid of finding ourselves face-to-face with a separate peace. We fear that because we care for the future of the Russian Revolution. And if people say to us that the ??? then I reply that I rather agree with Heinrich Heine, who said: "A fool alone fears nothing."

DN. June 23, 1917.

Food Problem In Russia.

Peasants Refusing to Sell Their Corn.

"Most Serious Danger."

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The debate in the All Russian Assembly of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates on the attitude towards the Government still continues, though the conclusion is certain to be an expression of confidence. The form of the debate consists in declarations by the Socialist Ministers concerning their Departments, alternating with speeches for and against the Government as a whole, and attacking and defending details of policy. The Minister of Supply, M. Peshekenoff, spoke of the actual difficulties of the food question, and laid emphasis on the fact that the peasants refused to give up corn. He pointed out the impossibility of a forced seizure of corn from many million peasants. This is, of course, the most serious danger before revolutionary Russia. If starvation should come to Petrograd then no power on earth would prevent the collapse of whatever Government there might be.

Useless Money.

Once upon a time, the Ministers said, corn was to be had for money. Now the people are extremely unwilling to give corn for money, because money is not cheap and there is very little that can be got for money. The present population sticks to the only thing it has in its hands, and naturally people have no wish to receive money for which they can buy nothing. Therefore to ensure getting corn from the villages for the towns and the Army the task before the Government and the Ministry of Supply is to secure for the peasants supplies from the towns of the things they need. Even this would be only palliative.

It will also be very difficult to perform because of the lack of raw materials and the disorganization of industry. Meanwhile the peasants, absolutely on realizing the effect of what they are doing on Russia as a whole, hide their corn from local committees often in such a way that the corn itself deteriorates and eventually becomes useless.

Need for Moderation.

It is quite clear that the majority of the Assembly fully realize the responsibilities of the moment and indeed of moderation for Russia's sake. The extremist betray themselves by their speeches, M. Ryazinoff did his party harm and not good in attacking M. Kerensky for the order depriving deserters of a vote in the Constitutional Assembly and depriving their families of separation allowance and themselves of the right to land. He tried to make an impression on the Assembly by reading this order aloud, but the result was a tremendous demonstration in favor of M. Kerensky by the soldiers, who form a great part of the Assembly.

The main lines of the discussion, which thus runs over every kind of detail, may be stated thus: The majority of the Assembly are in favor of the present Coalition Government. The extremist are urging the taking of the whole power into the hands of the Assembly, using as a base for their arguments the supposed counter revolution preparing in the Duma, and strengthened by the attitude of M. Miliukoff and others, who are unwilling to recognize in the Assembly more than a mere rival party. My own impression so far is that the Extremist are succeeding in showing up the impracticability and the dangerous mess and of their own views, and so confirming the majority in their determination to support Government.

O. June 24. 1917.

Signs Of Hope.

Mutineers Suppressed At The Front.

Petrograd.

Events which in any other country would have a most melancholy significance are here signs of hope. The news that the mutinied regiments on one of the fronts made necessary the formation of a small army of foot and horse artillery for their suppression does not mean that things are taking a turn for the worse, but that they are taking a turn for the better. A month ago it would have been impossible to form that little army, impossible to be sure that it would not have sided with the mutineers, and quite impossible to hope for the eagerness and efficiency with which it performed its maneuvers which ended in complete and bloodless victory.

There is a new confidence in the good sense and goodwill of the majority to be read in M. Kerensky's orders as to the enforcement of military discipline and the punishment of desertion. Considerable bodies of troops have petitioned for the right to take first part in the advance, and have been granted red – and – black ribbon, which means that their wish will be gratified.

The High Command is being very thoroughly reorganized, and tremendous efforts are being made to reestablish the Army food and munitions supply. I begin to think there is yet a chance that the Russian Army will recover itself in time to take some share in the summer campaign. The Government, and the Council of Soldiers and Workers Deputies united behind it, is realizing that an advance is essential for the ending of the war and the gaining of peace on the principles laid down by Russia.

All this is to the good, but it would be dangerous in admiring the heroic effort to forget the circumstances which make the effort heroic. The economic life of Russia is chaos. The enormous demands by workers, although a justifiable reflection of the extravagant profits made by Russian capitalist during the war, is bringing one business after another to a standstill, or causing a rise in already inflated prices. The value of the rouble falls daily; and steadily deteriorating transport, besides other causes, threatens famine in the not distant future.

DN June 25, 1917.

"Stable Chaos."

Struggle for Power in Petrograd.

Petrograd, Friday.

It is impossible for people in England to realize what is going on here by merely following the political history of the struggle for power and reading the contradictory resolutions. At the same time, it is very difficult to sketch the background to which we have become accustomed without giving a false impression. This background is like a crisscross pattern of contradictions in terms. There is a sort of stable chaos, or more or less orderly anarchy.

Of course, there are now police. They have been replaced by an amiable militia, partially civilian, partially military, of whom even the Radical newspaper, "Den," declares: "The state of affairs discredits the very idea of militia." The troops at the front naturally protest against the use of troops in the rear for police duties. Yet the militia is quite impotent to keep order whatever order is actually in danger. I do not believe that such conditions could obtain in any other capital in Europe without being accompanied by an infinitely larger percentage of crime.

Lack of Authority.

Everybody proceeds quietly about his business. The trams run, although they are incredibly overcrowded, and are fast wearing out. No one knows where anarchy will show itself next, and no one worries until the trouble actually comes his way. Thus one day a party of anarchist with machine guns and rifles take possession of a big newspaper office in the principal street. The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates sends representatives to parlay with them, and the anarchists are apparently convinced "that they had acted prematurely." They surrender their arms, are escorted to the Cadet Corps by Cossacks called in to do the work of militia, and are there released by arrangement. Next day they seize a private house. It is just possible that these gentle doings have a political significance in the extremist campaign--to compel the Workmen's and Soldiers Council to seize the whole authority, but, more likely, they are simply the manifestations of persons now for the first time able to put their ideas in practice.

Meanwhile the militia has threatened to strike unless their pay is more than doubled. Food in Petrograd costs about five times more than in peace time, and there are the clearest possible signs of coming famine later in the year. At the same time the workers, urged by the extremist, are continually demanding an enormous increase in wages – one, two, and even three – hundred percent. Money is worth comparatively little, and prices are rising.

Industrial Crisis.

Even more serious is the threat of an almost total stoppage of industry, due to a shortage of fuel and material. In this respect the situation is undoubtedly gloomy, and it serves to illustrate the vital meaning of the political struggle that is taking place. On the one side the great Moderate majority of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates are doing all they can to preserve the

country from a reaction which would certainly cause civil war; on the other side the Extremist, who seem to regard Russia as a Phoenix and the revolution as a fire in which to burn her, in order that they may "spoon – feed" New Russia from her earliest years.

Yesterday there was the grave danger of a big railway strike, but a manifesto issued by the Government has resulted in the men resuming work. This is very satisfactory, as the line of railway involved carries a great bulk of Petrograd supplies. It is also a sign of growing public consciousness.

Cossacks and Stability.

Another factor in the general situation, which no Government can ignore, is the attitude of the Cossacks, the decisions of whose delegates in the great Cossack Assembly being held here are of first – rate importance. It must be remembered that the Cossacks, as a race of landowners, are naturally fundamentally opposed to a general division of the soil. They are the best disciplined troops in Russia, and the troops where the most friendly relations exist between officers and men. There has not been one disorder from the Cossacks regiments since the revolution. Their attitude now seems to be one of distrust of the extreme elements, a readiness to continue the war, and a desire for stability in the country.

The temporary Government is confident that the Cossacks will help it in the defense of the country against a foreign foe, and will support it in the work of creating a strong and united State. M. Rodzinsko, in a very significant speech, referred to the Duma and to the accusation that reaction was showing its head in the Duma. "I do not believe this" he said. This is significant because the Left elements of the Russian democracy, not only the extremist, but also the big moderate majority, would certainly regard any effort to secure Cossack support for the Duma as opposed to the All – Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates. It will be very unfortunate should there be conflict on this point. The power of the Workmen's and Soldiers Council might be shaken, but not destroyed, and the result would be dual authority, a state of affairs most undesirable, both from the point of view of Russia and from the point of view of the war.

The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates holds that just as the temporary Government replaced the old bureaucracy after the revolution, so did the Workmen's and Soldiers Congress replace the Duma until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. They trust the possible resuscitation of the

Duma. The extremist support the revolution, asking for the formal abolition of the Duma and the Council of the Empire. The moderates submitted a resolution pointing out that the Duma and the Council of the Empire have already ceased to exist, and that, therefore, the actions of members of the Duma or the Council are merely the actions of a private group of citizens of free Russia. The effect of these resolutions will be seen to be almost identical with regard to the ??? of the Duma the All – Russian Congress will speak with almost perfect unanimity. It is to be hope therefore that a conflict of this kind will be avoided, especially at the moment when the Government and the Workmen's and Soldiers Congress are beginning to make headway together against the difficulties which such a conflict could only increase.

DN June 26, 1917.

**Russia And Mr. MacDonald.
M. Zion's Charges of Connivance.**

Petrograd, Thursday night.

Today the "Bourse Gazette" printed an Agency telegram, quoting "The Daily News", Parliamentary Correspondent as saying that members of the Government say that the statement made in the All – Russian Assembly about Government provocation in the matter of the prevention by the Seamen and Firemen of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's journey was without foundation.

I have today seen M. Zion, shown him this telegram, and asked for an explanation. He says that in accusing the British Government of provocation he had in view articles in the Northcliffe Press, which, he alleges, were inspired by certain members of the Government and indirectly instigated the action of the Seamen and Firemen. He further says that Mr. MacDonald, in accepting the principle of reparation to the widows and children of seamen killed by submarines, added that this should apply all round, and that damage suffered by civilian populations should be paid for by whoever may have done it, whether German, English, French, or Russians. He said that thereupon "Captain" Tupper called him a traitor, and that this was the starting – point of the conflict.

M. Zion adds that it is ridiculous to asked Mr. MacDonald to show that he has the support of 500,000 men, but that it is known to everybody that he does

represent a very considerable number, and that if, as the Governments say, they do indeed wish this minority to be represented here, Mr. MacDonald could be sent by warship.

M. Zion is a man of considerable influence. He took part in the famous Sveaborg Mutiny, and has influence among both Russians and Finns. He is at present doing his best to combat the untimely Finnish movement for separation. He says he will make a further public statement on the matter. This statement will probably be on the lines of the above explanation.

[What appeared in "The Daily News" (on the 13th last) was the following:

Our Lobby Correspondence states, on the authority of the Government, that the allegation reported to have been made in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates at Petrograd, that the visit of Mr. Ramsay McDonald, M.P., was prevented by the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, "with the connivance of the British Government," is absolutely without foundation the British Government ??? to facilitate the visit of the L. L. F. delegation, and issued a semi-official statement of their reasons for wishing to do so.

DN. June 27, 1917.

Russia And Peace.

To be Fought For And Won on the Battlefield.

The Government And The Allies.

[Mr, Balfour in the House of Commons yesterday said the Government had as yet received no communication from Russia regarding an Allied conference for the revision of war aims. He, however, understood that such a conference is suggested. In another long dispatch, which is printed below, Mr. Arthur Ransome deals at length with the recent events in Petrograd and the many dangerous complications that are arising;]

Petrograd, Saturday.

Today there are signs of increased tension in the more or less lasting crisis which is natural in a great country after a revolution. Again, exactly as at other times when this threatening tension has been noticeable, it is of a double character. Once again a big moderate majority finds itself faced by signs of

hostility simultaneously on the Left and the Right, on one side from the Imperialist, on the other side from the Anarchist, who today, partially in answer to activities at the other end of the scale, are supported by the Extremist.

I pointed out several days ago that the Russian revolutionary Parliament-the-All – Russian Assembly of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates-was likely to be disquieted by a suggestion of new activity on the part of the Dumas, which, after doing its share at the time of the revolution, had afterwards passed automatically into non-- existence.

M. Rodzianko's letter calling upon the Duma members not to leave the capital, as a time might come when they might again be useful, was perhaps the origin of these anxieties. It was followed by speeches in the Cossack Assembly which showed clearly a desire to get Cossack support for the Duma and the Coalition Government instead of for the Coalition Government and the All – Russian Assembly.

Duma Extinct.

It is to the interest of the Allies of Russia and of democracy that Russia shall be united, that her Army shall be strong, and that it shall take the offensive. These are all openly and clearly expressed objects of the All Russian Assembly, which explicitly disclaims party views, and seeks only to be representative of the Russian democracy. I do not wish to be disrespectful to M. Miliukoff, who before the revolution did courageous and valuable service in attacking the old regime, but it is impossible not to observe a point of resemblance between his speeches and those of such Extremist as the Leninite Mme. Kollontai. Both almost invariably begin with a reference to "Our party." At the present moment the task before Russia is far too big for party politics to be permissible.

The result has been, as I foresaw, the passing of a resolution by the Assembly insisting on the fact that the Duma and the Council of the Empire have ceased to exist, and that any group basing its claim to representation on the fact that the members were members of the Duma is simply a group of private persons. This was the Moderate resolution, passed by a big majority. But the Extremist resolution, which was rejected, differed only in asking for a special decree abolishing the Duma and the Council of the Empire. Thus in actual fact the Extremist and the Moderates are united on the main principal.

Policy of the Moderates.

So much for the trouble on the Right bank. That on the Left bank is caused by the Extremist opposition to the Coalition Government and their desire at all costs to compel the All Russia Assembly and the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates to take all the power into their own hands. They regard the Coalition as a surrender to the bourgeoisie, or as the Moderates think of Russia as a whole, and do not wish to deprive her of the services of good men of any party. The length to which the Extremist are willing to go is illustrated by their conduct of the past few days, and their desperate efforts to overthrow the Government by an armed demonstration and by strikes. Petrograd has been flooded with legendary manifestoes, but the appeals of the Government and of the All Russia Congress have had the desired effect.

Later.

The All – Russian Assembly, after passing a vote of confidence on the Coalition Government, as already telegraphed, passed a resolution concerning the non – existence of the Duma, and then proceeded to a discussion of the war. Here there is no doubt as to the attitude of the most powerful body in Russia, and readers in England must not be misled into imagining that the Assembly as a whole is anything but hostile to the views of the Extremist minority. The general opinion of the Assembly is well expressed by M. Dan who said:

Fate of the Revolution.

"The fate of our revolution is closely bound up with the question of the war. If we fail in ending the war our revolution, if not destroyed, will suffer serious injury. Wherefore the attainment of a speedy peace is our most important task, but we must be clear as to the kind of peace we mean. A separate peace cannot solve the problem with which the Russian Revolution is faced. Such a peace would surrender Russia to a cabal of the world's Imperialist. Russia again and swiftly would be dragged into a new war.

"All our proclamations appealing for a general struggle to obtain peace will be of no avail if for each one of our proclamations our Allies are to receive from the Germans thousands of bullets and shells fired by them who have been taken from our front to the Anglo – French front."

He insisted that responsibility for an advance should belong to the High Command, and that on it also shall lie responsibility for an advance being made

in time. On the other hand, he said: "We are against yelling about an advance and about carrying the war to a victorious end. War is the battlefield on which we have to fight for peace."

DN June 28, 1917.

Russia In The Throes.

How Civil War Was Averted.

Dramatic Night.

Triumph Of Moderates.

[The night of Saturday last was one of the most dramatic and critical experienced in Petrograd since the week of the revolution. Mr. Arthur Ransome, our Special Correspondent, in another long dispatch, tells of how the Moderate Party in the All Russia Congress saved the country from an outbreak which would have resulted inevitably in anarchy and civil war.]

Petrograd, Sunday.

The feeling of Petrograd today is rather like that of a person half awake, and not quite sure whether he has been visited by a burglar or a bad dream. Very few knew of the threatening trouble until they heard it had been avoided. Even now opinion is very various as to the exact nature of the danger. The Radical "Den" newspaper says: "The Russian democracy has won a great political victory." The official organ of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates says: "The danger was there. All felt it. The first shot fired in the streets of Petrograd might lead to a catastrophe in which a good part of the revolutionary gains of the people might be lost. Only people hopelessly blind were unable to see the threatening shadows of the counter – revolution which yesterday hovered over Petrograd."

The paper says that the plan was to stir up one part of the population against another, and then to restore order, which would include a veiled counter-revolution. The counter-revolution, in the sense now used, does not mean the restoration of autocracy or anything of that sort. It means the capture of power by a minority.

General Suspicion.

No one states definitely whom he suspects of having such an intention, but there is a steady under – current of feeling that somewhere among the parties

on the Right – among those, that is to say, who stand to be in a minority when the Constituent Assembly declares the future forms of Russia – there are men who would be glad of the excuse to take things into their own hands and forestall that uncomfortable moment.

Little things keep happening which strengthen these suspicions and make it more difficult for the big Moderate Party to continue steadily on its way. They find the Extremists on their left always ready to prod them into action against the Right, and, as shown by the history of the last few days, ready to risk all in order that they may themselves seize power. Between the jealousies and suspicions of the Right and the Left the moderates have been placed in an extreme critical position. The Anarchist plan to hold a great demonstration today threatened to bring matters to a climax, and only those people behind the scenes know of the great danger which threatened Russia and of the revolution. Late last night and until this morning anything might have happened.

Triumph for Moderation.

Later.

So far the day has passed quietly, which is a triumph for the Moderate majority in the All Russian Assembly. It is now clear that the Extremist hoped to profit by what I have called the trouble on the right flank-viz. The attempt to undermine the position of the Assembly, capture the soldiers support, and gain for themselves the authority of the Council of Workmen and Soldiers. Basing their agitation on the distrust caused by the speeches to the Cossacks and by the Duma affair her, combining with it the unrest on the Vyborg side, where many workmen extremist sided with the Anarchist, they summoned a great "peaceful demonstration for today. The result would certainly have been bloodshed, which, I fear, would have been welcomed on the Extreme Right as well as on the Extreme Left. It might have ended either by the usurpation of power by the Extremist – in which case anarchy – or by creating a state of affairs in which the forces on the Right would have disowned the authority of the All Russian Assembly – in which case there would have been practically unavoidable civil war.

Climax of the Crisis.

The prompt action by the Moderates once again saved the situation. Late at night M. Chkheiden startled the All – Russia Congress with the statement that

in view of the events intended for next day it might be necessary for the Assembly to sit all night, and that it was not impossible that the sitting would be the last. At three in the morning it was decided to use force in case of necessity. Troops were placed at the necessary posts. At half – past four the Extremist announced that they had decided to address themselves to the workers and soldiers to put off the demonstration. Members of the Assembly spent the whole night in going from regiment to regiment and from factory to factory warning men against the demonstration. The Assembly met again at eight this morning. Very few Extremist were present. The "Pravda" came out without the Extremist proclamation. The soldiers "Pravda", however, issued by the same people, came out with the proclamation thus still further in sensing the Moderates against the Extremist.

The conflict between the Extremist and the Moderates is now an open one. A split in the Assembly is, unfortunately, now a fact. Satisfactory proof, however, of the Assembly's power and of the confidence it enjoys is the present question of the town.

.DN. June 29, 1917.

**Two Extremes In Russia.
Growing Strength of Moderate Party.
Loyalty To The Allies.**

Petrograd, Monday.

Rumors as to the intentions of the frustrated Extremists demonstration are of the most various kinds. It is said that the Extremist intended to arrest two members of the Temporary Government and the Presidential Bureau of the All The Russian Assembly, or compel that Assembly to declare itself a Convention, and in case of refusal to dissolve it. An investigation is proceeding.

M. Gegetchkori, a member of the Presidential Bureau of the Assembly, said to the "Bourse Gazette": "It is impossible to continue thus. Petrograd lives on a volcano, never knowing when it may belch out fire and lava. We must make it clear that this is not the time and place for irresponsible actions."

At today's meeting of the All – Russia Congress there was a discussion on the war. The majority are certainly in favor of a Russian advance at the first

possible moment, believing that this is the only means of bringing the war to an end. A few Extremist delegates who expressed other views had a very hostile reception.

Passing of the Crisis.

Tuesday.

Meanwhile, the feud between the two extreme wings continues. At the same time both are striving to gain the confidence of the workers and the soldiers, and thereby strengthen their own position. M. Miliukoff wants the arrest of M. Lenin and Lenin wants the arrest of Miliukoff. The Moderates are doing their best while this struggle for power goes on across them. There was at one time some anxiety about the Cossacks, who have interests not always coinciding with those of the rest of Russia. Speeches were made to the Cossacks by M. Miliukoff, M. Guchkoff, and others of the Right parties which seemed to many to be an attempt to secure Cossack support for the Right as opposed either to the Left or to the moderate majority in the center. This anxiety disappeared when it became clear that the Cossacks themselves interpreted these speeches in this way and made it perfectly clear that they supported the Moderate majority in the Assembly and the Government based upon it. The tension of the situation was momentarily lessened, but is still critical

.

Extremists and Allies.

The significance of the resolutions passed by the All – Russia Congress – which have been telegraphed in full to England – will be readily understood by all who have read the rejected resolutions put forward by the Extremist. This begins with a direct attack upon England, France, and Italy, accusing them of a desire to "prolong the war until the realization of their annexationist aims and of a desire in alliance with the Russian bourgeoisie to turn the Russian Army into a passive weapon for the continuation of the world war, international robbery, and oppression of peoples."

From this the Extremist deduce the complete failure of the Coalition Government in its aim of securing peace by negotiations with the Allied Governments. They therefore call upon the Assembly to take all authority in its own hands, etc. That is the crux of the position. The Extremist profit by these difficulties of the Moderate party. I do not consider the danger great at present, but I fear that when the material conditions of the country becomes still worse the Moderates will find the people slipping away from their support towards those who promise them earlier relief.

DN June 30, 1917.

Russia's Internal Struggle.

Tomorrow's Great Demonstration In Petrograd.

Danger Of Serious Conflict.

[Tomorrow will be another critical day in Petrograd. A great demonstration is to be held to celebrate the Revolution, and all the conflicting elements represented in the All – Russian Assembly will take part. There are serious dangers of conflict, which are set out and explained by Our Special Correspondent, Mr. Arthur Ransome, in the subjoined dispatch:]

Petrograd, Wednesday.

Next Sunday's demonstration will clear up many doubtful questions. It will show whether the Extremist are right or wrong in claiming that they do already represent the soldiers and working classes. Both sides are busy preparing, but as in elections the Extremist have the most energy to spare.

No doubt is entertained as to their aims in the event of the populace leaning to their side. They say: "We shall demonstrate on Sunday for the same objects as those intended by the demonstration which was postponed last Saturday." Some of these are: "Down with the ten capitalist Ministers!" "Down with "Allied" Imperialist who stand at the back of the organizers of the counter-revolution!" And "No separate peace with Wilhelm, but no secret agreements with English and French capitalist." etc. The Extremist say: "The demonstration should not be a simple promenade, but a political demonstration of strength. The demonstration should be the means of exerting pressure by the revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary soldiers for the practical fulfillment of their demands." Certain troops will undoubtedly march under banners with the inscriptions quoted above. It remains to be seen how many.

The Other Extreme.

Meanwhile the Government is threatened – I think less dangerously – from the other side. The " Malenkaya Gazette," the little newspaper with a large circulation among the poorer classes of Petrograd, for the most part among non-- industrial's such as porters, messengers, and small storekeepers,

appeared yesterday with a large typed appeal on the front page complaining of the Temporary Government for its weakness, saying that the war must be finished with victory. "We do not want a dictator, but for victory is needed an iron hand – a terrible sword, and not a scullery mop." The paper proceeds: "Let Prince Lvoff yield the place of President in the Cabinet to Admiral Kolchak. That will be the Ministry of victory. Admiral Kolchak will know how to lift the Russian arms above the head of the Germans, and the war will end. The long awaited peace will then begin." The appeal closes with the suggestion that Moscow will support such a movement.

This appeal, exactly like the appeal of the Extremist, calls for a demonstration in the streets, and says that the work of the revolution is unfinished. The official organ of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates today speaks clearly against this masked demand for a dictatorship, and the Government has issued a special declaration on the subject expressing the hope that the population of Petrograd, "by calm and self-restraint, will help the authorities to keep order."

Fear of Bloodshed.

Later.

Sunday's demonstration was discussed by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates today. Several speakers expressed their fear of serious developments. Two differently motivated demonstrations, the strings of which were being pulled from behind, might, it was pointed out, easily end in bloody confusion which would give a chance to the counter-revolutionaries. The general feeling is that such a rebellion may occur on Sunday. I think myself that all the parties will want the day to pass off quietly, and then it will be a referendum of red flags, and not an actual struggle.

The disquiet of the capital is having its effect at the front, and telegrams are being received from the Army's urging calm in the rear. The general news from the front indicates a solidification of the Army and a steady improvement of feeling, but it is impossible to say as much of the rear where one instance followed by another of regiments refusing to obey orders, and of extremist agitators succeeding in preventing reserve companies from proceeding to the front.

The Ukrainian movement is now forcing itself on public attention, and it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this question. The country of the Ukraine, which contains one of the richest areas in Russia, with Odessa as the

principal port, also includes a very important section of the front. Before the revolution the movement was more or less anti-Russian, but the character is now completely changed. Federation with Russia is now aimed at, but demands are being made that Ukrainian troops should fight under their own flag, and that the country should be given complete autonomy. The Minister for War has decided against the first demand, and in regard to the second the view is that the question can only be decided by the Constituent Assembly. The agitation, however, continues, and grows in force.

It is impossible to exaggerate the danger for revolutionary Russia that lies in this sudden and differing of a national question. The Radical newspaper, "Den," calls for a declaration by the Government, and for the practical preparation of a new basis of national relations in Russia. "Only so," it says, "will it be possible to turn national movements into factors that will fortify the revolution, and not into factors of its destruction."

Yesterday the Executive Committee presented to the All – Russian Congress a short report on this question of national relations. This took the view that the business of the Assembly was limited to a statement of general principles, but holding that the principle of the self – definition of peoples should apply not less to internal politics than to external.

O. July 1, 1917.

**Extremist Intrigues In Russia.
Attempt to Overthrow The Government.
Demonstrations In Petrograd.**

Petrograd, June 28.

Again there is considerable tension in the atmosphere of Petrograd. The widening breach between the Extremist minority and the big Moderate majority in the All – Russian Assembly of Councils became suddenly a chasm when it was discovered that the Extremist had secretly prepared a demonstration for last Saturday, with the scarcely described object of turning out the Government, forcing the Assembly to take up authority, and securing for themselves solid power based on the support of soldiers and workers.

An all-night sitting of the Assembly, the passing of a resolution against the demonstration, the Extremist eventual climb down in face of such solid opposition, and at the last minute canceling their own appeals for a demonstration – all this is now old history. It was followed by the Assembly's definitely forbidding all demonstrations for three days, which order was kept. Then came a new order on the part of the majority calling for a general demonstration on Sunday, July 1, ostensibly to lay wreaths on the graves of victims of the revolution.

This is one way of taking the bull by the horns, and many look forward to Sunday with misgiving. I do not personally think there is real need for anxiety, because, while the Moderates in no case want violence, the Extremist will want to prove that they did not intend violence by their secretly prepared demonstration which was to have been last Saturday. Hence it is probable both parties will keep the peace and Sunday's demonstration will take the form of a huge referendum of red flags to show which party has the support of the Petrograd masses.

But all parties are in the nervous state and on much disturbed by persistent rumors and suggestions of a counter – revolution. The Assembly's resolution emphasizing the non– existence of the Duma is another sign of anxiety lest the reactionary parties should find a grouping point.

M Kerensky has gone to Kazan and thence south to the Caucasus after begging the Soldiers' Committees in Petrograd to preserve order and not stick a knife in his back and into the revolution itself while he was away. The troops in Volga towns are still unruly. The news from the actual fronts is better. There is a determination to take the offensive in spite of difficulties, the seriousness of which it is impossible to exaggerate.

DN. July 4, 1917.

**Petrograd And The Victory.
Decisive Measures With Anarchist.**

Petrograd, Monday.

The news of the victory, which arrived at noon, may be in time to save the difficult situation created by yesterday's anti-Government demonstration.

Processions have taken place today in which the red and even the tricolored national flags, with portraits of M. Kerensky, were displayed. Extremist and Leninites who tried to persuade the crowds that the reports of victory were false were rescued from lynching by the Cossacks.

Just as the Moderates were forced into a difficult position by the Extremist, so the Extremist themselves now find the ground cut from under them by the Anarchist. When yesterday the Extremist Kameneff tried to persuade the crowd to set free the arrested suspected spies from prison he found the crowd against him. The prison doors had previously been opened and a great number of the arrested got out. Then the Government took decisive measures, ending in the occupation by armed forces of the Villa Durnoso, the Anarchist stronghold. If this had been done two days ago the revolt might have been bad and it is impossible not to say that the incident is over. But the Anarchist had certainly roused such anxiety that a great part of the population, even in the districts where the Extremist head the polls, were more relieved than otherwise and today's news greatly strengthens the Governments hands.

DN. July 5, 1917.

Kerensky's Success.

Extremist Moderating Their Tone.

Petrograd, Tuesday.

Kerensky's tremendous faith and eloquence has yielded results. The news from the front has for some time shown that a better feeling has been created with discipline and increasing number in the troops who have expressed eagerness to take part in an advance. The actual activity on the front has surprised none except perhaps Petrograd Extremists who had exaggerated the effect of their propaganda. Even the enemy knew very well that not all the troops before them were peacefully inclined. Austrians are being replaced by Germans, shouting across to their friends of a few weeks ago that the coming Russian advance was no secret.

The Russians took the offensive on the front of approximately 20 miles, with the immediate object of threatening the railway junction of Brzerany. This,

taken during Brusiloffs Offensive, was retaken by German counter — offensive last autumn.

Ten miles north — west of the town they succeeded in capturing a strongly fortified village between two arms of the little river which may be considered as an important fort in the towns defenses. Immediately east of the town they advanced along the Kosova-Brzerany railway, and to the south-west they made considerable progress towards a serious outflanking of the town from the south. The latest news shows that their operation is still continuing. Prisoners are still arriving in the rear.

Another Move Expected.

Further north there was a small affair just along the elbow of the river Stoktou, opposite Kosova. Still further north on the central front the Commander-in-Chief issued an eloquent order of the day, and the news of operations there are expected at any moment.

There is a double importance in the Russian offensive in the influence on the Germans and the influence in Petrograd. All the Russian Councils of the Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates held special sessions to which they invited representatives of the factories and workshops. A single phrase in Teretelli's speech sums up the situation:

True brothers at the front he said have undertaken an advance in the hope that we will support them.

That is the real question. Is the ground to be cut from under the feet of the Army by the Extremist and those engaged in spreading disorder in the rear? The Internationalist refuse to support the appeal to the Army and the country for mutual support but some even of the Extremist have moderated their position. Thus Lunscharsky said:

Now that the Russian Army has been thrown into an offensive, we are not going to urge disorganization. That would be a terrible blow to the Russian soldier, who has been dragged into this adventure. But we think it permissible to cease for the moment to call all nations to fraternity against all Imperialistic Governments.

Fate of the Revolution.

A lieutenant. who spoke from the Army said:

If you do not support us you will be committing a crime such as is unknown even in the bloody pages of Russian history.

Only 74 voted against the address to the Army and the nation, whereupon the Assembly resolved that those who voted against us or did not vote should write their names on special papers. The fate of the Russian Revolution depends now on the Army. If the Germans before, and ??? helped Germans and Extremist behind the Russian Army succeeded in nullifying the offensive not only the Government, but also its base, the big Moderate block in the All — Russian Assembly will be destroyed.

DN. July 7, 1917.

Days Of Peril In Russia.

Extremist Active Yet in Petrograd.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

General Gutor, directing the offensive on the South – West front, knows the ground well. The advance began in this sector of the front where last year he was a popular, energetic corps commander. Yesterday's victory considerably widened the active front, which now extends for nearly 40 miles. The Russians have taken three lines of trenches on most of this line. Where they have not done they may have driven the enemy across some such natural defense as a river. The country is one of low hills and woodlands, not very unlike the uplands that lie to the south of the English lakes.

The Czechoslovak troops mentioned in the Russian communiqué are mostly volunteers, who at the beginning of the war were forced to fight for Austria. The hopes of the Germans, based on an agitation in their favor by extremist in the Russian rear, are illustrated by the fact that when the advance began German airplanes attempted to thwart it by dropping thousands of proclamations telling the Russian soldiers that the offensive had not been approved by the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates or by the Temporary Government

This scheme turned out a laughable failure, partially owing to the presence of M. Kerensky, which was a visible proof of the approval of both parties, and a source of tremendous confidence and enthusiasm.

German reinforcements include divisions from France and division newly formed in Germany. They concentrated mainly on sectors south of the present Russian offensive and on the Riga –Dvinak front, where there has lately been a marked increase of aerial and artillery activity. The Germans have brought to the Russian front great quantities of guns and machine guns.

The Russian Losses.

The Russian artillery is probably better supplied than at any previous period of the war, and in spite of the hard fighting of the last few days the Russian artillery preparation was such that the losses though great have been far less than the Russians were hitherto accustomed to regard as proportionate to such successes.

Feeling at Petrograd is mixed. The great majority are thankful that the honor of Russia has been saved, and watch eagerly for news from Italy and France, hoping that a final offensive on all the fronts has begun. Some Extremist papers disregard the offensive altogether, hoping to persuade the soldiers that it is a fiction. Gorky's paper says: "The international pressure of Imperialist Governments allied with Russia, international agreements by which the Temporary Government is bound to the Allies, the insecure internal situation, the desire to strengthen its authority and influence, the desire to lower the revolutionary temperature of the masses – these, in our opinion, are the fundamental causes which compelled the Temporary Government to begin active operations on the front."

However, the paper goes on to say that, since the advance has begun, then the more successful the better. Further, "Kerensky is advancing. It is now Teretchenko's turn," meaning that the effort of the Russian Army should strengthen the influence of the Russian Government on the Allies in the direction of peace.

Extremes Agree

On this last point the Extremist and Moderates are at one, opposed only by a small and quite uninfluential group of the Right. With regard to internal affairs the All – Russian Assembly supports the Government in the action of arresting

Anarchist at the Villa Durnovo. The Petrograd Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates agrees, but with the far less decided majority.

Thursday.

The sooner the Conference of the Allied Governments takes place the better. The absence of a definite agreement as to the exact objects of the war, and the fact that the Russian democracy suspects itself bound by some shadowy net of arrangements with the Allies made by the old regime, have been the principal difficulties met by Kerensky at the front. These difficulties still exist. They form the backbone to all the anti- Kerensky, anti- offensive, anti- Ally propaganda. The soldier is told that he is advancing before getting a guarantee that the peace he is risking his life for is the peace he wants to get.

German and Russian Extremist alike are yelling that the Russian offensive has been undertaken at the dictation of the French and English capitalist, and that it should not be undertaken until the Imperialist (here more or less synonymous with capitalist) have definitely come to an agreement with the Russian democracy. These arguments serve as the base for a twofold propaganda, both against the offensive and against the Government.

The Government is accused of risking the Russian Army before making sure that the Army is not being risked for a purpose not its own. Arguments on behalf of the Government are simply ignored, and the whole effort of the Extremist is concentrated on the point of the absence of agreement with the Allies. It would be foolish to underestimate their affect. The Extremist are certainly gaining influence among the soldiers and workers, and in scores of cases delegates elected to committees and sent to conferences are now finding themselves much further to the Right than their constituents.

Responsibility brings with it natural moderation, and this, of course, helps the party in opposition. Thus during the last few days I have seen many genuinely patriotic manifestations, but no careful observer can fail to have been struck by the fact that the great majority of the manifestations belonged to the better educated classes.

Extremist are now busily engaged undermining the authority of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates, calling for new elections on the grounds that the delegates no longer represent the views of their constituents, and also that the classes are unfairly represented. On the Council of Workers and

Soldiers Delegates depends the Government itself, so that in the event of Extremist success the whole fabric will fall again into chaos.

The Extremist Danger.

The Extremist proposed a hostile demonstration against the Government for today, with the demand for release of the Anarchist, but found the general opinion of the workers against them. A slight unfavorable turn of events would swing things in their favor. Any help that can be given in strengthening the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates and the Government they support will be given by all who care for the future of Russia and our alliance. They can be weakened by increasing industrial and economic difficulties, which will certainly be exploited by the Extremist.

The strongest support that could be given them by the Allies would be the destruction of the Extremist main argument by an immediate Allied conference, which should enable the Government to show that Germany alone is responsible for the continuance of the war. Russia will be unanimous in supporting Kerensky and the offensive only if she can fight with the sword in one hand and definite Allied peace conditions in the other.

Given that possibility, she will fight to enforce those conditions. So long as the Extremist can say that the Allies will profit by her offensive in the prosecution of aims for which that offensive was not undertaken, so long will the Government, Kerensky, and the offensive itself be in perilous proximity to the precipice.

O. July 8, 1917.

The Russian Rally.

Week Of Emotions In Petrograd.

A Regiments Conversion.

Extremists Still Busy.

Petrograd, July 6.

The week has been one of vivid dramatic changes which have thrown a series of bright lights on the extremely critical internal situation.

The general demonstration called by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates for Sunday, intended as a red flag referendum to learn which party really had the support of the masses, had a curiously unencouraging result. Only about a quarter of the number of people marched as took part in previous demonstrations. With only two or three exceptions they bore flags with inscriptions showing hostility to the Government and hostility to the policy of the offensive. For 12 hours there was grave doubt as to what would follow.

Then, at midday on Monday, came the news that the offensive was actually in progress, that last week's announcement of Kerensky's journey to Kazan was a blind, and that he was really with the troops on the south-west front, inspiring them to the attack with the whole force of his personal conviction. Succeeding telegrams brought news of dimensions of the victory – 20,000 prisoners, many guns, and a series of valuable positions. It was learned that the first regiment to attack was one which had met Kerensky on his first visit to the front with the flag inscribed, "Down with War!"

Wave Of Patriotic Ardour.

The enthusiasm of those who had watched Sunday's manifestation with misgiving carried them out to demonstrate on their own account. The tricolor, the national flag of Russia, which had vanished since the Revolution, now reappeared for the first time. The sudden wave of patriotic ardour – visible in the streets of Petrograd – gave confidence to the Government, who surrounded Datcha Durnovo, the Anarchist headquarters, and carried three score Anarchist to prison. The All-Russian Assembly of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates passed a resolution sending their warmest approval to the army. Out of about 700 delegates only 74 did not vote or oppose the resolution.

For the moment it seemed that the Extremist had received a serious blow. In actual fact, the result has been less to weaken them than to accentuate their divergence from the policy of the Moderates. Many soldiers said they would not believe the news of the offensive until they read it in their own papers (the Extremist "Pravda" and the like). Agitators told them the offensive was a lie arranged by the bourgeoisie. The Extremist papers at first actually ignored the advance, thus strengthening the soldier's doubts. They then opened a direct attack on the policy of the Government and on Kerensky, their line being that the advance, once made, cannot be withdrawn, and that therefore it should not have been made until the Allies and Russia were at one on the question of a definite peace policy. A slightly less extreme view is that the advance should not have been made, but that now it has been made diplomatic pressure on

the Allies should immediately follow. This is also the view of the Moderates, but for a different reason.

Situation Still Serious.

The Extremist agitation is undoubtedly gaining ground, and the only hope of meeting it is to cut the ground from under its feet and unite the soldiers and Russia behind the front in the knowledge that Germany's resistance is the only obstacle to a just and honorable peace. I have myself heard even Extremist delegates say that if this were so they would fight to the last man. Meanwhile they continue attacking the Allied Governments, their own government, and lastly, the actual Council of Soldiers and Workers, on whose authority the Russian Government is based.

Today again a demonstration against the Government was threatened, but did not take place. What is more serious is that a general reelection of members of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates is being demanded on the ground that that body no longer represents the will of the electors. Should this come to pass, then the whole fabric built up in Russia since the Revolution will again be in the melting pot, and the effect, both in the Army and out of it, would enormously increase the difficulties of keeping up the offensive. Much depends on the news from the front during the next few days, and much also on an early conference of the Allied Governments.

DN. July 9, 1917.

Russia's Aim.

Kerensky Thwarted by the Extremist.

Petrograd, Saturday.

Today again comes news of the continuation of the advance. The Russians have moved forward some sections as much as six miles. But the offensive is not to be judged by the attainment or non-- attainment of obvious points such as Halltek or Lemberg. Its object is by reaching towards them to compel resistance on the part of the enemy, to force the Germans to weaken the French front and the Austrians to lessen their concentration against Italy. And already there is evidence of its success.

But it would be mischievous to assume because the heroic War Minister, Kerensky, has been able to inspire considerable bodies of troops to make the effort now being made that Russia must therefore be out of her difficulties. Even on the front itself Kerensky cannot be everywhere, and the Extremist continue their work of undermining the convictions of the simple uneducated men. There agitators are doing their best to stir up the men of Kronstadt to come to Petrograd to release imprisoned Anarchist. The Committee on Naval Reforms has stopped work because the crews of ships at Reval and Helsingfors have withdrawn their delegates, being discontented with the findings of the Committee with regards to sailors pay, naval court-martial, etc. Little Russians in reserve regiments refuse to go to the front until embodied in special Ukrainian regiments which is practically impossible at the time of an offensive. Finally relations between Russia and Finland are increasingly difficult owing to the refusal of the Finns to accept the Russian rouble.

Delegates from the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates to Helsingfors were not successful in persuading the Finns to alter their position. There is danger that the Russian soldiers and sailors, being refused necessities in exchange for roubles, may take the law into their own hands.

DN July 10, 1917.

All – Russian Assembly.

Beneficent Influence On Solution of Minor Political Crises.

Petrograd, Sunday.

The All-Russian Assembly of Councils of Soldiers and Workers was closed yesterday. The sittings of this true Parliament of Russian democracy have coincided with a series of minor crises in internal and external politics, and have invariably exercised a beneficent influence on their solution.

Besides making a number of suggestions which M. Skobeleff promises shall be followed by the Government, the Assembly has also served as a vivid illustration of the present political situation. As anticipated at the time of the formation of the Coalition Ministry, that dissension between the Moderates and the Maximalists and the Extremist minority has now been intensified. The aim of the latter now is obviously to force the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates to take over the Government in the hope that they (the

Maximalists) will then be able to usurp the present controlling position of the Council.

It is clear that the Coalition Government now recognizes that the source of the power is the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, and reciprocally that Council, as at present constituted, is determined to support in the Government by all possible means, and further to support to the Government's policy of hastening peace by activity in the field as well as by diplomacy. It supports the offensive because it believes that it will help the diplomacy. Its own permanence and that of the Government depend on the justification of that belief.

DN. July 11, 1917.

New Methods.

Russian Economy in Lives of Soldiers.

Petrograd, Monday.

General Korniloff's victory between Halitch and the Carpathians has enormous significance. It is not only the logical consequence of the blows further north, and proof that the armies on the southwest front are in condition to undertake elaborate combined operations, but it is also a definite promise for the future. The line has been broken in so real a sense that after a steady three mile infantry advance over a considerable front the enemy lost cohesion and the cavalry penetrated seven miles.

Halitch is now turned from the south and threatened from the north, and if General Korniloff's blow is followed by a further advance and the breaking of the Austrian defense in the neighborhood of Brzetany it is possible that the Russians will enter Halitch without fighting, since only a slight further advance north and south would cut the already threatened enemy communications.

Prisoners describe the Russian artillery preparation as the most serious they have experienced on this front. The revolution has taught the Russian Army a higher valuation of soldiers lives. Gunfire is being used, as in France, to lessen the cost of the attack, and though the fighting of last week has cost the Russians heavily, yet lives have not been wasted to save shells. General Korniloff's order of the day told the soldiers: "Carry with you freedom to all nations, happiness and justice to all who work." M. Kerensky has declared to

a regiment were his words have been misunderstood: "I am convinced that Germany will agree to our terms only under the pressure of the whole force of our Army, and that to obtain peace an urgent offensive on our part is necessary." This is the keynote of the present Russian effort.

DN. July 13, 1917.

20 Miles Beyond Halitch.

Kalusch Captured by the Russians.

German Admission.

The Russian offensive continues to meet with striking success. The force of Kalusch, 20 miles south west of Halitch, and hitherto to the headquarters of the enemy, has been captured, together with a large number of prisoners. The German communiqué admits this success, declaring that the river was crossed.

According to Berlin, the Russians are also active in the northern area of the Kae and near Lutsk, the artillery firing being described as a rising to "considerable intensity."

From Our Special Correspondent.

Arthur Ransome.

Petrograd Wednesday.

The taking of Halitch is a great moral victory since free Russia can say that her citizen soldiers, fighting to secure peace, can capture a town which last year resisted the soldiers of the Czar who were fighting only for victory. Local conditions of the offense were particularly difficult. From Halitch a sort of trident of streams stretches westward, each stream being well fortified.

Only the complete success of Korniloff's attack, when the soldiers with red flags of liberty, their regimental committee sharing with their officers the responsibility and danger of leading the men in the offensive, carried the defenses with such tremendous energy that the pursuing cavalry was able to penetrate far into the enemies rear, made

it impossible for the enemy to hold the successive lines of fortified resistance he had prepared.

When the committee explained to the men that they were to risk their lives to obtain peace for Russia, some of those under the influence of Extremist ideas replied that peace could be better obtained without advancing. These men withdrew in one regiment on the eve of attack, when the signal for the charge was momentarily expected, the Extremist reappeared and begged to be allowed to rejoin. Their request was refused. The Regiment saying it would be without them.

The armament of the Halitch forts is estimated 20 heavy and about 150 field guns. The official organ of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates printed a special greeting to the troops who carried this flag of the revolution into Halitch.

"May the entry of the revolutionary regiments into Halitch the decisive" it said "on our road towards peace. The road to peace lies through battles. To obtain peace the Russian Revolution must control the powerful army, and today's victory is a holiday in honor of peace."

Russians bitterly resent the misunderstanding with which their offensive is cloaked in certain circles in the West. It is being made under circumstances of extraordinary difficulties.

It is made not because Russia hopes for or desires the crushing of Germany. It is made because she believes that by an offensive alone can she persuade the Allies and compel the Germans to agree to a general peace on honorable terms.

DN July 14, 1917.

Threat To Lemberg.

Great Possibilities of Korniloff's Move.

Petrograd, Thursday.

The Russian advance in the South-West is developing with great success. The defenses of Halitch were the defenses of the Dnietry crossing. 18 elaborate fortifications two to three miles from the bridge on the left side of the river, flanked by positions on the right bank. Those defenses resisted last year's Russian blow. Korniloff did not attack them, but approached them from the other side, so that the advancing Russian troops actually had to cross from the right to the left bank of the river.

By the capture of Halitch the extreme right flank of the outer defenses of the fortified Lemberg district is turned. There are two main lines of defense of Lemberg. One is mainly against the attack from the north – east. Its value is now considerably lessened by the fall of Halitch. Supposing that line to fall, the enemy's next line is Lemberg, Khodorov, Kalnech, and Lipevitem, which defends the railhead into the Carpathians.

Korniloff has already taken Kalnech , and, pressing forwards, has ensured that the retreating enemy must defended themselves not on prepared positions, but in the open, on equal terms with the attacking Russians. If Korniloff is backed up as he has the right to expect he has opened the way to an advance more important than Brusiloff's of last year. He may take Lemberg or cross the Carpathians into Hungary.

Petrograd Food Troubles.

Measures are being taken to regulate food difficulties in Petrograd. The sugar and meat allowance has each been reduced 2 lb. per month. Yesterday a general census of food in the town revealed the fact that certain shopkeepers have been holding back supplies. A butcher in whose shop was found meat with maggots was thrust into a barrel and trundled up and down the street till rescued by the military.

At Moscow the municipal elections saw a good indication of what is likely to happen in the elections for the Constituent Assembly. More than half the votes were given to the Social Revolutionaries. Cadets registered only 19%. Moscow, like Petrograd, has shown that the main bulk of the population supports the majority in the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates and that the Cadets on one side and the Extremist on the other represent small minorities only.

Finnish Affair Serious.

It was last night decided by the Provisional Government that the state of Finnish affairs is so serious that it is necessary to recall even those Ministers who were doing invaluable work with the Army in the field. The Finns refuse a loan and then bring in the Bill declaring Finland independent, except in foreign politics and military affairs. The position of the Russian Governor-General becomes almost impossible. The Diet is prepared to appoint a new Senate without reference to the Provisional Government. Hostility to Russians and to the English is growing in Finland. A strike on the Finnish railways would close Russia's communication with the east through Sweden and Norway.

DN. July 15, 1917.

**Kerensky's Success.
Extremists Moderating Their Tone.**

Petrograd, Tuesday.

Kerensky's tremendous faith and eloquence has yielded result. The news from the front has for some time shown that a better feeling has been created, with discipline and increasing number in the troops who have expressed eagerly as to take part in an advance. The actual activity on the front has surprised none except perhaps Petrograd Extremist who had exaggerated the effect of their propaganda. Even the enemy knew very well that not all the troops before them were peacefully inclined. Austrians, on being replaced by Germans, shouted across to their friends of a few weeks ago that the coming Russian advance was no secret.

The Russians took the offensive on a front of approximately 20 miles with the immediate object of threatening the railway junction of Brzexany. This, taken during Brusiloff's offensive, was retaken by the German counter offensive last autumn.

Two miles northwest of the town they succeeded in capturing a strongly fortified village between two arms of the little river which may be considered as an important fort in the town's defenses. Immediately east of the town they advanced along the Kozova-Brzexany railway and to the south-west they made considerable progress towards a serious outflanking of the town from the

north. The latest news shows that the operation is still continuing. Prisoners are still arriving in the rear.

Another Move Expected

Further north there was a small affair just above the elbow of the river Stokhod opposite Kozova. Still further north on the central front, the Commander – in – Chief issued an eloquent order of the day, and the news of operations there are expected at any moment.

There is a double importance in the Russian offensive – in the influence on the Germans and in the influence in Petrograd. All the Russian Councils of the Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates held a special council , to which they invited representatives of the factories and workshops, etc. A single phrase in Tseretelli's speech sums up the situation:

Our brothers at the front (he said) have undertaken an advance in the hopes that we will support them.

That is the real question. Is the ground to be cut from under the feet of the Army by the Extremist and those engaged in spreading disorder in the rear? The Internationalist refused to support the appeal to the Army and the country for mutual support, but some even of the Extremist have moderated their position. Thus Lunacharsky who spoke from the Army said:

Now that the Russian Army has been thrown into an offensive, we are not going to urge disorganization. That would be a terrible blow to the Russian soldier, who has been dragged into this adventure. Next we think it permissible to cease for the moment to call all nations fraternity against all Imperialist Governments

Fate of the Revolution.

A Lieutenant who spoke from the Army said:

If you do not support us you will be committing a crime such as is unknown even in the bloodied pages of Russian history.

Only 74 voted against the address to the Army and the nation, whereupon the Assembly resolved that those who voted against or did not vote should write

their names on special papers. The fate of the Russian Revolution depends now on the Army. If the Germans before, and combined Germans and Extremist behind the Russian Army succeed in modifying the offense, not only the Government, but also the big Moderate block in the All – Russian Assembly will be destroyed.

O. July 15, 1917.

Russian Advance.

German Garrison At Halicz.

Improving Position At Petrograd

Difficulties With Finland.

Petrograd, Saturday.

So far as internal politics are concerned the week has passed comparatively quietly. This is largely due to the continued success of the Russian offensive. Extremist realize that if they are too active against the offensives they may easily be the first victims in the event of its possible failure; and on the other hand, they are likely to be discredited in the event of its possible success. Therefore, for the moment, they are confining themselves to attempts to undermine the position of the parties on their immediate right.

The All – Russian Assembly ended after showing that by an overwhelming majority it supported the Government and believed the offensive to be the best means of hastening peace and strengthening Russian diplomacy in its efforts to that end. This view of the Moderates has found support in the internal crisis in Germany, which is done much to confirm their position. The closing of the Assembly and the dispersion of its members over Russia will have an effect in the provinces, where the Extremist always profit by the absence of the best man, who naturally are those sent to Petrograd.

Halfway To Dolina.

It is impossible to praise too highly the technique and the effects of General Korniloff's advance on the Carpathian foothills. M. Kerensky has re-created the spirit of large sections of the Russian Army in the face of a determined opposition, which is still active. The extent of his success may be judged by the fact that on the south-west front it has been possible to achieve not merely a local annoyance of the enemy but an elaborate operation as pretty as any of

those yet seen in a Russian theater of war. The Haller forts, which registered General Brusiloff's blow last year when attacked from the front, have been taken at comparatively small cost from behind after a magnificently executed feint further north, followed by a combined cavalry and infantry action south of Stanislau, which enabled the Russians to circle completely round Hallez and actually to take it by crossing the river from west to east.

At the moment of telegraphing the Russians are already more than halfway to Dolina, on the railway from Lemberg to the Carpathians. Kalusz has fallen, which is sufficient proof that after the loss of Hallez, which has hitherto shown itself one of the strongest points in the enemy line in Galicia, the Austro-Germans were forced to make a considerable and most uncomfortable retreat. Owing to the direction of Korniloff's blow this retreat is not from one line of defenses to another, but between these lines, both of which have already been outflanked from the south.

All this is highly satisfactory, and the Germans will once again be forced to use troops to hold up the Austrians' retreat. Hallez, however, was actually lost by German troops, for the garrison included two German divisions.

Ukraine and Finland.

Meanwhile, it must be remembered under what difficulties Russia is making this effort. The conditions in Ukraine, where independence has been declared, and the Ukrainians demanded the immediate formation of Ukrainian regiments from Little Russians now serving in other regiments, was considered so serious that Tseretelli and Terestehenko were sent to Kiev.

Now affairs in Finland are even worse. The Finns adopt an uncompromising attitude and demand full independence, except in respect of foreign and military matters. They refuse the loan which is necessary to regulate the heavy fall of the rouble in Finland, and a man from Russia supplies what Russia needs herself. The general attitude shows in the clearest way an increasing hostility both towards Russia and England. The Right section of the Government insists that the Finnish question is one for the Constituent Assembly, and must not be decided before. Socialist Ministers favor compromise, but the situation is so serious that all the Ministers, even those sent south and to the Army, have been summoned to Petrograd.

The industrial and economic situation is bad, and the purchasing power of the rouble decreases daily. The meat allowance is to be 2 pounds monthly, and

sugar is reduced to the same quantity. Bread supplies in the capital are now improving, though there have been food riots in various provincial districts.

DN. July 16, 1917.

Pressing Forward

Germans to the Rescue of Hard-Pressed Austrians

Petrograd, Saturday.

The enemy's attempt to arrest Korniloff's advance in the wooded and hilly district above the source of the River Lakovitsa has broke down, and the Russian left wing, which was momentarily stopped, is now pressing forward. It holds the crossing of the Lemnitze, threatening the Carpathian railway and the Valley of Cherba, the eastern heights of which form the southern end of the main Austrian defensive line based on Lemberg. The Russians are already across this line at Kalnack.

The Russian troops are steadily pressing north-westward towards Dolina and the danger is sufficient to compel the Germans to make a serious, immediate effort to come to the rescue of the Austrian troops. Whether they will succeed in this will depend on the readiness of the other armies to support Korniloff.

Yesterday the Government met at the Central Telegraph Office in order to talk by direct telegraph with Kerensky, Tseretelli and Tereschenko in Kieff. The Ministers reported conversations with the Ukrainian Assembly and the promise of a satisfactory result. There is hope that the Assembly's consciousness will ease the difficult situation created by the assembly's declaration of Ukrainian independence. The Ministers have left Kieff, and will reach Petrograd tomorrow night in time to meet a similar crisis at the other end of Russia, where the Finns are showing a willingness to profit by the temporary difficulties of revolutionary Russia, whose final act was to show that Finland as well as Russia was to gain by the Russian Revolution.

The remarks of Tokel, President of the Economic Department of the Finnish Diet (Prime Minister) need no comment. "We are afraid that if we give money to the Russian government, it will be used for the war." Further: "I imagine that the moneyed classes and England are influencing the politics of the Russian revolutionary democracy. We have no definite proof of this, but we fear that this is so, and until we have a complete and serious guarantee in this matter

we cannot agree to the realization of a loan for Russia." The position is extraordinary. Certainly Finnish districts asked for the removal of the Russian garrison because of the difficulties with the soldiers. On the other hand, Finnish demonstrators asked the Russian soldiers and sailors to lend weight to the manifestations by their presence

.

The latest news is that the representatives of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates have obtained certain concessions with regard to a loan, and also a few days delay in the final dispersal of the Diets Bill dealing with the supreme power in the country. The Finns, it may be observed, asked for international guarantees of their independence.

DN. July 17, 1917.

Finnish Claims.

Tactics that Threaten New Danger to Government.

Petrograd, Sunday.

Yesterday at Helsingfors a huge demonstration was arranged with the participation of Russian soldiers and sailors with a view to insisting that the Bill for an eight hour day should pass the Diet third reading in the form proposed by the Social Democrats. The Bill has been passed in that form. The loan question is to be reconsidered by a special Commission. The most urgent question is that of the Independence Bill, the passing of which is now certain. It remains to be seen only whether the Finns will observe the Constitution and recognize the sovereign rights of the Temporary Government until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly or whether they will ignore the Constitution entirely and ask no sanctions from Russia.

A delegation from the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates did meet with a very friendly reception. They were, in fact, bluntly told that controllers were not required. They explained they had not come to control, but for neutral advice and information, and were told that the Diet was following the plans suggested for Finland by the All – Russian Assembly. A delegate of the Council pointed out that the circumstances made the immediate realization of all their desires unadvisable. The general feeling of the delegates approves the Finnish aims in principle, but can hardly support the manner in which the Finns put them forward.

The possibility of an entirely unnecessary Ministerial crisis in Russia may arise out of the disaffection of the peasants and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates with the Minister of Education Manuloff. These organizations told that Manuloff's policy hinders educational reform, and threatens the people of the new Russia would have to put up with the old school. They complain of the Minister personally and of his policy. The matter may be limited to the resignation of Manuloff, but as in the case of the last crisis, the tactics of the Cadet party may turn an unimportant question of an individuality into a danger to the Government in general by insisting that if one Cadet Minister goes all must go..

DN. July 18, 1917.

New Russian Crisis.

Cadet Party Resign from the Government.

Firing In Petrograd: Machine Guns In The Streets.

Petrograd, Monday.

As I telegraphed on Saturday, an extraordinary Cabinet meeting took place in the General Telegraphed Office here (the office of. Tseretelli), where the Ministers exchanged views with those of their colleagues who have been sent down to Kieff to deal with the Ukraine question. It seems that that the Cadet members of the Government had already been disturbed over the attack on the Minister of Education, and disapproved highly of the attitude taken up by the plenipotentiaries in discussing the Ukrainian affairs with the Ukrainian Rada.

Both with regard to Ukraine and Finland the Cadets took up a more uncompromising attitude than the Socialist Ministers. As a result, yesterday the Cadet Ministers resigned in a body. That means that the striking success of the All - Russian Congress of Councils of Delegates, is restraining its Extremist and in refusing to take over the entire Government authority, has gone for nothing.

What the Leninites have failed to achieve in breaking up the Government has, it may be feared, now been accomplished by the Cadets. The position, however, is not yet quite hopeless. M. Nekrasov may not go, as during the Miliukoff crisis he made it clear that he was not bound by the Cadet decisions.

But the resignation of the Cadets is unfortunate all the same. It is a step towards the collapse of the Coalition.

Tuesday, 12:34 a.m.

I have been able to obtain the following details of the Government crisis. At the meeting of the Provisional Government, which began last night, and can hardly be said to have ended yet, the Cadets objected to the phrasing of the declaration with regard to Ukraine to which Tseretelli, Terentchenko, and Kerensky had committed the Government, and accused these Ministers of exceeding their instructions. They declared that the Ukrainian question was one needing great deliberation, and one not to be solved permanently except by the Constituent Assembly. They said also that the Government declaration [line obscured] guarantees to return, etc.

Kerensky, on the other hand, took the view that delay in this matter was impossible, and, in fact, that the procrastination in coming to a decision on the Ukrainian question might affect the fate of the Russian offensive on the northwest front. The Cadets, however, demanded reconsideration. Tseretelli and Terentchenko said that they could not agree to alterations in the agreement they had arrived at with the Ukrainians in Kieff, and the matter was put to the vote.

The Premier's View.

All the Socialist Ministers supported the declaration in its original form, and were supported by Vladimir Lvoff, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, and by the Premier, Prince Lvoff, who, considering the unsettled condition of Kieff and the impossibility of procrastination, holds that Tseretelli and Terentchenko achieved a very real success in arriving at the agreement

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The Cadets Manuiloff, Minister of Education; Shingareff, Minister of Finance; Shakhurakai, Minister of Public Charity; and Stepanoff, directing the Ministry of Trade and Industry, voted against this, and were supported by Godneff, the Controller – General, who, however, afterwards declared that he fully agreed with the declaration in substance, but shared the Cadet opinion as to the need of changes in wording. Nekrasov, Minister of Ways and Communications, did not vote he is not in agreement with the Cadets demands, and, though he left Kieff before the final agreement had been reached, he considers himself morally responsible with Tseretelli and Terentchenko , for the declaration. When, after the voting, however, the Cadets announced their intention of resigning, he declared that he would respect the solidarity of the party and

resign also. It is still possible, however, that he will prefer to give his support to the Government rather than to the Cadets. The under – secretaries and assistant – ministers of the Cadet Party will follow the example of the Cadet ministers.

"A Blow in the Back"

Kerensky is said to have declared that the retirement of the Cadet Ministers at the very moment of the offensive on which the fate of the nation depends is a blow in the back for Russia. I understand there is still a chance that the Cadets will reconsider their decision. In any case, there is still hope for a Coalition [remainder of sentence unreadable]

Tuesday, 9:30 a.m.

An armed manifestation is proceeding all over the town. Private motors have been stopped and seized, as in the first days of the revolution. Regiment after Regiment are carrying banners, "Down with the Temporary Government: All power to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates!"

Already shots have been fired, and in the present hungry condition of the town the manifestation may take serious proportions. Motors with machine guns and manned by armed soldiers are again parading the streets.

When one remembers the calm of the last few days, the general signs of steady work, coupled with the news of the progress on the front, it is impossible not to blame the Cadets for them again risking the throwing of the country into the melting pot.

DN. July 19, 1917.

The Russian Crisis.

Story Of Petrograd Disturbances.

The Government.

Premiers Promise As To New Cabinet.

Petrograd, Tuesday.

The meeting of the Cadet Party which was discussing the Ministerial crisis, was interrupted by news of events in the streets of Petrograd. No decision was

arrived at, but Miliukoff, whose word is law with the Cadets, says that at the present moment they will in no case return to power. Nekrasoff, however, after resigning, severed his connection with the Cadets, and has been invited to take a portfolio in the new Ministry.

The Government deliberations last night were made in extraordinary circumstances. A motor – car with armed soldiers and machine guns aboard arrived at the Premier, Prince Lvoff's door and demanded the surrender of Ministers, but left, returning half an hour later, when one of the two motors standing outside was requisitioned, the mutineers remarking that the Government could get on well enough with the one that they left. M. Chekbzidae pointed out the effect the news of separate regiments taking to the streets would have abroad and in the provinces, as well as at the front.

Both the Government and the Executive Committee issued a declaration, the Governments forbidding armed demonstration and the Executive Committees pointing out that unknown persons were calling for a manifestation in the streets against the will of every Socialist party, hoping to get soldiers and workers by this means to protest against disbanding regiments which refused to fulfill their duty on the front.

History of the Trouble.

The actual history of what happened is briefly as follows: The First Machine Gun Regiment and certain parts of the Pavlovsky Regiment of Chasseurs and the 180th marched armed through the streets with an assortment of banners inscribed "Down with the war! Down with Kerensky! Down with the Temporary Government! All power to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates!" They were joined by Anarchist, also carrying banners, one of which said, "Down with the blood thirsty Kerensky!" Later they were joined by a big procession of workers, armed and unarmed. Their main objective was the Tauride Palace (the headquarters of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates), where they listened in silence to moderate speeches and cheered only extremist ones.

The first actual sign of trouble was the holding up of the Finnish Railway by a group of soldiers with machine guns at a station just outside Petrograd. Next, in Petrograd, began the seizure of automobiles. This the mutineers accomplished with great thoroughness, taking practically all the Government motors and also those belonging to the old Court, which are now used by Ministries. Crowds of people enjoying their usual promenade in the Nevsky

Prospect were disturbed at seeing many small meetings, and then appeared motors with machine guns and armed soldiers on the mud guards, as in the days of the revolution. Armored cars followed.

Panic Follows the Firing.

The First Machine – Gun Regiment and others soldiers were in Nevsky Prospect when shots rang out about halfway down the street. General shooting and a malee ensued, the mutineers firing on each other. The result was panic. Many women fell, and were trampled upon, but there was a comparatively small number of persons wounded. Shooting stopped for a moment, but was presently renewed, first by a few stray shots, and then by a regular fusillade from the guns on the cars and also from rifles. On the bridge near the British Embassy Cossacks stopped the crowd marching towards the center of the town. There also firing was in progress.

There seems to be good evidence that the disturber's were exasperated by persons not directly connected with the mutineers. Several cars with armed persons in them were seized, and it is probable that provocateur shots were fired, not by the mutineers, but by persons who hoped to profit by a general upset. For some unknown reason also one regiment did not receive its yesterday's bread allowance, which also suggest a determination to force the regiment into the street. Most of the soldiers in the streets had little idea of what they were there for. Many were very sleepy, and walked along smoking cigarettes. Many made their way back to the barracks.

The Government did not summon any troops to support it. By four in the morning the streets were comparatively quiet, although small excited meetings continued until much later. The tramways stopped running their normal course.

DN. July 20, 1917.

500 Killed & Injured In Petrograd.

Troops Support Government Against Extremist.

Trouble Now Over.

Premier Foreshadows a New Coalition Ministry.

[In a further graphic dispatch below Mr. Arthur Ransome continues the story of the fresh disorders in Petrograd, and addresses facts confirming the statement that they were fomented by agents of Germany. Happily the troubles now appears to be at an end, and the troops have expressed their loyalty to the Provisional Government.]

In two days something like 500 people have been killed or injured.

In the meantime fighting goes on at the front with varying success. The Germans launched an attack in Eastern Galicia yesterday in reply to the challenge of the offensive "which the Russian Army has begun by order of its Government and in spite of their peace assertions." The enemy claimed the piercing of our Allies positions east of Zlotehoff on a wide front.]

The City Quiet.

Rain That Helped to Clear the Streets.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

Late tonight the town is quiet. Rain has been falling pretty steadily since about eight, and this no doubt has helped considerably in clearing the streets. Prince Lvoff, Tseretelli, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Pereverzov, Minister of Justice, and the Assistant Ministers of War and Marine, with the members of Staff of the Ministry District, had earlier decided upon the suppression of the disorders and the clearing out of the Anarchist. Little, however, was done until the evening, when about the time the rain began I saw M. Pulevseff, the Commander of the Military District of Petrograd, instructing the Government troops. In the Palace Square was an extraordinary scene a sort of bivouac. Cossacks were chatting in groups beside their horses, there were light guns and the Ninth Cavalry Regiment and junkers (cadets) from the Vladimir Military School were also there.

Covered By Field Guns.

Soon after Pulertseff had retired with his Staff, two motors armed with machine guns belonging to the Extremist attempted to cross the square, but were cut off by the Cossacks. They threatened to fire, but finding themselves covered by field guns in a side street, yielded, and were disarmed and arrested. The Extremist had raided the garage of the officers stores and seized a motor lorry, and when I left the Palace Square, going through the archway towards the Nevsky Prospect, this motor lorry, towing a damaged car, was turning out

of the Nevsky with a view of going across the square to the Extremist headquarters. Through the archway, however, the driver saw the Cossacks. Some of the Extremist instantly jumped off the lorry and ran back into Nevsky. The lorry driver, helped by passerby's got the damaged car turned around, and took the lorry back and returned it to the garage. There were many such incidents, all illustrating the lack of real motive behind the demonstrators.

Unfortunately the incidents were not all bloodless. A little later a Cossack patrol in the Liteini Prospect, armed only with swords, were noticed by an armed body of demonstrators running from the Taurid Palace. Shots were fired from somewhere, and the demonstrators, believing that the Cossacks had fired, threw themselves on the ground and poured volley after volley into them. The Cossacks, having no carbines did not resist.

Soldiers Confused Views.

Wednesday, 1 p.m.

I have had many conversations with the Extremist soldiers and sailors, who have most widely varying ideas as to the reason of their actions. Last night in a kitchen I talked with a soldier of a Petrograd regiment disbanded on the front. He was very bitter against the disbanding, and said if the Regiment had been given time they would probably have decided to advance, but he disliked the fact that the order to advance was signed personally by Kerensky. He thinks all orders should be signed by the Workmen's and Soldiers Council. His Regiment, he says, was unwilling to disband, and after disarmament remained where it was, asking to be reformed. He also complains that it was then driven to the rear by Cossacks.

I have no means of ascertaining if this is true, but it is a good example of the kind of reasoning behind the disorders.

Story Of German Money.

Wednesday, 1:50 p.m.

The committee of the journalist attached to the Ministry have received a letter signed by Alexiesky, a member of the Second Duma elected by the workers of Petrograd, and by Paskratoff, the Social Revolutionary, who spent 14 years in Schluseburg Convict Prison. This letter enclosed a statement of an extraordinary character, showing that since May 29 the War Office has known that an agitation here in favor of a separate peace has been carried on by means of German money. It is stated that officers of the German General Staff

told an officer of a Siberian regiment who was sent by them across the front to agitate in the Russian rear that this agitation was carried on by the President of the Ukrainian Alliance for the Emancipation of Ukraine, and by Lenin.

It is stated also that Lenin was entrusted with the task of destroying the faith of the Russian nation in the Temporary Government, and that the money for the agitation was received through a certain Srvendsen, employed in the German Embassy at Stockholm.

In Petrograd the principal receiver of the German money is said to be the Extremist Koslovsky. Money has been sent from Berlin through the ??? in Stockholm, via a bank, and thence to the Siberian bank in Petrograd, where Koslovsky's account is said to be over two million roubles. It is stated, further, that the military censorship has established the fact of the continuous exchange of telegrams of a political and financial character between German agents and Extremist leaders in Stockholm and Petrograd. If these statements are established and capable of proof, the result may be the collapse of the Extremist movement and the arrest of some of the principal leaders.

New Coalition.

Prince Lvoff's statement that discussions with a view to filling the vacant seats in the Cabinet will be renewed as soon as the disorders cease, and that the balance of opposing tendencies in the Government will be preserved as before indicates that the new Government will be a Coalition, and that the demands of the Extremist will be unfulfilled. This decision is approved by the executive committee appointed by the All – Russian Assemblies both of the Workmen's and Soldiers Council and of the peasants.

The "Pravda", the Extremist organ publishes a declaration signed by half a dozen committees saying that the ends of the demonstration have been achieved and that further disorders are undesirable. Thus both parties seem to claim a victory.

Moscow Extremist have also demonstrated, but they were supported only by about 200 soldiers, and by night the town was entirely peaceful.

News from the front shows that the Army as a whole are opposed to the originators of the Petrograd disorders. The strike that was feared in the Post Office and Telegraph Department has been averted in view of the critical

situation. Last night at a special meeting of the Government Tseretelli proposed the shifting of the sittings of the Government to Moscow.

The Troops Pledge.

Soon after midnight parts of the Tamailovsky and Semenovskiy Regiments came to the Tauris Palace at the request of the Executive Committee, and were addressed by Skobeleff, who, just returned from the front, told them that when the news of the Petrograd disorders arrived there the Army Committee unanimously resolved that such actions in Petrograd were a blow in the back of the Army. A representative of the troops replied that those units who were collected in the Tauris Palace fully supported the Executive Committee, and would guarantee them the possibility of continuing the work in peace.

Wednesday, 2 p.m.

Nothing could be sadder than the events of these last few days. Soldiers brought out into the streets by agitators on all kinds of pretexts marched along without the slightest understanding of what all the trouble is about. Nearly always they are told that they are needed to support the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, whereas the disorders are caused with the real object of shaking the Councils authority. The whole town, including the soldiers, is in a state of over excited nerves. A single shot anywhere starts a fusillade in which innocent persons suffer and fall victims to the panic of others.

For 24 hours the town was practically at their mercy. The Minister Chernoff was arrested and released. Many minor person suffered indignities. People were killed and wounded, and all for no purpose. This is becoming obvious to many of the demonstrators. Numbers of the Kronstadt sailors who had come to the city returned home last night disgusted with the whole affair.

DN. July 21, 1917.

**Last Of Rebels In Petrograd.
How the Extremist Were Defeated.
Tolstoyan Principles In Practice.**

Petrograd, Thursday.

The reason for the resignation of M. Pereterzoff, Minister of Justice, is said to be the criticism of his action in allowing the publications of the letter containing definite accusations against certain Extremist, the substance of which was telegraphed yesterday.

Although the trams are not yet running the town is perfectly quiet. The fortress, which had declared itself ready to fire on the town, is now again exclusively in the hands of the original garrison, the machine gunners having returned to barracks, and the Kronstadt swashbucklers to their island. The cruise of the last armored cars faithful to the Extremist have now renewed allegiance to the Government, and declared that they will not come out again except under orders from the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates as a whole. The great bulk of the population is thankful that order has been restored.

Principles of Non-Resistances.

The Government took a big risk in allowing the mutineers to have things all their own way at the beginning, but the result has justified them. It became clear even to the dullest of the demonstrators that he was demonstrating for nothing in particular. Reinforcements for the mutineers were exasperated at being called out without anything to do on their arrival. The absolute inaction of the Government during the first days of disorder contributed to nervousness, but eventually to the melting away of the Extremist supporters. It is the first time in history that Tolstoyan principles of non-resistance have been put into practice in so large an area, but even many of those who have been shooting for "the masked fist" recognize that the Government have secured a big success.

Later.

The fortress and Mlle. Kreshinskaya's house, which was the Leninite headquarters, are now in Government hands. At six o'clock this morning the British Embassy, which is on the quay was warned that the Government intended to take the fortress, and that the mutineers might in reply bombard the opposite side. The Embassy declined the invitation to move to a place of safety. The fortress surrendered without firing a gun and so did Mlle. Kreshinskaya's house, although there were a few rifle shots.

Work is proceeding as usual. The town as a whole is perfectly quiet. The struggle, such as it was, is now definitely over, and there is not the slightest cause for any anxiety in England.

Extremist Leaders Fears.

Wednesday.

Today the aspect of the town sharply changed. The offices of the Leninites newspaper "Pravda" were entered by the crowd, and a number of copies thrown in the Moika Canal, but apart from this and apart from some irregulars from an armed motor resisting arrest the center of the town may be said to have been quiet since yesterday.

There are some more anxious to disclaim responsibility for the trouble than the Extremist leaders themselves. They see a healthy public feeling against them, incensed by unnecessary bloodshed in the streets, and see also their own followers wearied and resentful going home of their own accord. Thus the Extremist Kameneff came voluntarily to the district staff to hand over some requisitioned lorries. While he was engaged formally in giving them back some Cossacks in the Palace Square below learnt who he was, and, exasperated by the fate of their comrades in last night's fusillade sent up a message demanding his arrest or threatening otherwise to tear into pieces.

Kameneff begged to be arrested M. Polovtsoff, who commands the district, refused, however, saying: "But you are an innocent man. We have nothing against you." Kameneff repeated his request more passionately, and finally Polovtseff said, "I cannot arrest you but if you like I will tell the Cossacks that you will not leave the building." This was done, and the Cossacks were satisfied.

As to the detailed accusation against the Extremist of receiving German money which I telegraphed this morning, the Executive Committee of the Soldiers and Workers Council published a declaration that at the request of the Extremist party a Commission is being formed to investigate the matter, and asking that the public should suspend judgment until the Commission reports.

A Cruiser in the Neva.

A cruiser came up from Helsingfors arrived in the Neva at 1:30 today, and anchored below the Nicholas Bridge. Delegates from Helsingfors crews with

Extremist resolutions arrived only to find most of their Kronstadt comrades returning home tired and grumbling against their leaders. With fine revolutionary sashes of red silk they marched to the Tauride Palace through perfectly quiet main streets. The Government declaration on the Ukraine question, which served as a pretext for the Cadet desertions, has called forth an admirable answer from the Ukraine Assembly, assuring complete support to Russia.

O. July 22, 1917.

**Russia's Relapse And Recovery.
Aims Of Extremists Frustrated.
Ukraine Agreement Justified.**

Petrograd, July 20.

Even the Finnish affair has been swept out of the people's minds by the swift rush of events in Petrograd. The Coalition Government was attacked from two sides. The Cadet Ministers, who have been restless since M. Miliukoff's departure, brought on a Government crisis by resigning in a body. This was not wholly unexpected, since it was a move threatened in case M. Manuiloff, the Minister of Education, should go, which seems certain.

The actual reason given by the Cadets however, was the agreement reached by the Government delegates, MM. Tseratelli and Terestchenko, aided by M. Kerensky and M. Nekrasoff, with the Ukrainian Assembly.

The result was that the Extremist were able to play their card of an armed demonstration at the very moment of a complicated Government crisis. Just as the Cadets were a minority in the Government, so the Extremist were a minority in the Council. Their object was to force the Council to take over full power.

This is the explanation of their proceedings. The essential point to be remembered is that the All-Russian Assembly of Councils by a huge majority had decided to support the Government, and that, therefore, the Executive Committee of the Councils left in Petrograd could not take power without disobeying the mandate laid on it by the whole of Russia.

Much, however, can be done in a state of general anarchy, and general anarchy was the immediate aim. The first step was to get armed men into the streets. Kronstadt sailors armed to the teeth arrived "to support Petrograd against counter revolution," actually to be used as blind instruments by the Extremist.

It was one thing to demonstrate against the military offensive and against capitalist Ministers and in favor of the Council's taking over the sole authority, but quite another to declare openly against the Council itself.

The Government, having waited until the mutineers were tired of wandering about and causing panic, suddenly began to show its hand. The bridges connecting different parts of the town were closed, and in another 24 hours complete order was restored, ending with the capitulation of the fortress and of the Leninite headquarters.

With regard to the Ukraine, those who supported the declaration to which the Cadets objected and who declared that the agreement was a great success, obtained under difficult conditions, have been justified by results. These have been to win from Ukraine the fullest recognition that henceforth Ukrainian and Russian interest are identical.

DN. July 23, 1917.

The Russian Crisis.

Kerensky Appointed Premier.

Foreign Policy.

Conference Of Allies Next Month.

Petrograd, Saturday.

Petrograd had scarcely had time to realize that the Extremist plot had failed, and that the Government had come safely through the riotous and angry days of the beginning of the week, when it was once more electrified by events. M. Kerensky returned from the front, and his dissatisfaction with the measures taken in his absence burst like a bombshell among the shaken Ministry. It seems that he disapproved entirely of the passive resistance policy of the Government during the first days of the mutiny, and, assuming that General Polovtzeff, the commander of the troops of the capital, was responsible, at first insisted on his resignation, but on learning that the Government, and particularly Prince Lvoff, had voted the measures proposed by General

Polovtzeff as being so risky, he took a different view, and General Polovtzeff was allowed to retain his post, although the troops brought in from the front are actually commanded by a member of the Workmen's and Soldiers Council, Lieutenant Mazurenko.

The resignation of Prince Lvoff became inevitable, and as soon as he had left the meeting M. Kerensky proposed the immediate formation of a new Cabinet, which, owing to the Cadet resignations, was carried out in the only possible way, namely, by a distribution of the remaining posts among the surviving Ministers. In this temporary "plural" Cabinet M. Kerensky is Premier and Minister of War and of the Marine and acting Minister for the Interior. The temporary Minister of Justice, encouraged by a promise that a substitute shall be found within 10 days, is M. Nekrasoff, who will take over the duty of presiding over the sittings of the Cabinet in the absence of M. Kerensky.

Back to the Front.

M. Kerensky left for the front at noon yesterday, after issuing a series of proclamations of great importance, as showing how firm a line he is prepared to take in view of the extreme seriousness of the moment. The bad news from the front has illustrated only too clearly the reality of the danger to Russia and to the revolution created by the joint agitation of German agents – provocateurs, who hope to serve the counter – revolution by creating anarchy, and of fanatic Extremist, some of whom, as even their opponents recognize, are perfectly honest men. All persons who took part in the stirring up of the disorders are now liable to arrest. The Provisional Government has ordered the arrest of Lenin, Einovieff, Trotsky, and Kameneff.

M. Kerensky's proclamation to the Army and Navy puts the situation of Russia, threatened by a German offensive both by land and sea, before them in the clearest terms. It describes the conduct of the Baltic Fleet Committee as treacherous, and orders its immediate dissolution, because it prevented ships from being sent to Petrograd when the Government commanded them for the preservation of order. He commands all the crews to discover and deliver in Petrograd all the suspicious characters in their midst. He orders Kronstadt and three ships of the line whose crews have passed disloyal resolutions to arrest their ringleaders within 24 hours.

Whether the Extremist has succeeded in achieving their aims or not will depend on the attitude taken by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates towards them. Already it is clear that the Executive Committee of

the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates realize it's difficult position, and has passed an extremely interesting resolution recognizing that the sharp change of feeling in the masses, brought about by the disorders and by the armed attempt against the Provisional Government made by the Extremist and the Anarchist, and by the dark forces working under the same flags, puts the country in actual danger of a counter revolution. It at the same time recognizes that the necessary measures taken by the Government in agreement with the Executive Committee provides the basis for the counterrevolutionaries, who, while ostensibly restoring order might well prepare the way for a military dictatorship. They therefore authorize the Socialist Ministers, together with the others, to take immediate steps to fill the vacant posts in the Cabinet

A Sentimental Suggestion.

The most sentimental news of the day, namely, the suggestion of an immediate proclamation of Russia as a Democratic Republic, is not so sensational as it seems. The object is to knock on the head any kind of agitation in favor of the Monarchy, which might easily be used as a cloak for a counter revolution. It will strengthen the Government against attempts to unseat it either from the Left or the Right. It is not an act of usurpation, for final regulation of the position will be left to the Constituent Assembly. It simply recognizes the will of the people as expressed in the All – Russian Congress and in the municipal elections both at Petrograd and Moscow. It will cut the ground from under any attempt to stir up disorders with a view to shifting the authority in one direction or the other.

As I have many times pointed out, the danger to the revolution comes from the minorities both on the Right and the Left who, recognize that they will still be minorities in the Constituent Assembly, and therefore are out to disturb things before that body meets. The expected declaration recognizes exactly this, and is an attempt to secure the immediate unity and firmness in the struggle against the external foe. The principle has been approved by both the Government and by the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers Council, and a decree will probably be published at once.

There was firing yesterday at various points of the town, which was in every case due to concealed agents provocateurs, but any real reoccurrence of the disorders is not as present to be feared.

DN. July 24, 1917.

German Gold.

Real Cause of Russian Retreat.

General Korniloff's Serious Position

Petrograd, Sunday.

The great Palace square is like a camp. Kitchens, ammunition carts, cavalry, foot soldiers, armored cars, motor lorries, etc., fill the gigantic open space known throughout Europe as the scene of bloody Sunday. All day and all night work proceeds in the District Staff. Armored cars are sent from here when needed. Yesterday morning one car had a running fight with an insolent motorboat which came up the Neva and bombarded the quays with a machine guns. The boat was sunk.

To the Staff, one by one, are brought the men arrested, guarded by loyal soldiers, and transported in motor lorries instead of tumbrils. Yesterday a machine gun regiment came to be disarmed and disbanded for taking an active part in the disorders. They marched through the streets unrepentant, singing that well-known revolutionary song, "You Fell as Victims." They were hissed by the crowd in the road leading to the square. The crowd shouted "Who fell? The unarmed and innocent folk whom you shot."

Wholesale Bribery.

Day by day the part played by the German agents in support of the Extremist becomes more clear. From the commissions of the arrested Madame Sumenson it seems through her alone 600,000 (£60,000) roubles found their way from Ganetsky in Scandinavia to persons selected by Kozlovsky in Petrograd. The "Novoe Vremaya" says that officers of the Staff state that after the fortress yielded and the defenders were marched every one of them, whether Kronstadt sailor or civilian Extremist or soldier, was found to have a considerable sum of money. Not one had less than 350 roubles.

The mass of evidence of Germans complexity has caused a great change in feeling among the population. The disarming of the Red Guard (armed workmen who took part in the disorders), which hitherto to was quite impossible, is now proceeding fairly smoothly. In fact in some factories the Red Guard are leaving their weapons lying about in order to avoid giving them up.

Feeling against Lenin and his collaborators is very strong indeed, and embittered by the news from the front, where the Germans have secured a bloodless, but not for that reason an unimportant victory, due to the exertions, not of the Germans soldiers, but of the Russian – German agitators. It is obvious to everybody that a disaster of this kind does not bring peace nearer.

Effect at the Front.

The result has been that the Germans have pressed forward to Gladki, north of the Tarnepol, which was the last point abandoned by Bothmer under Brusiloff's pressure. Here they regained the original line, and are where they were actively beginning of last year. The breadth of their thrust is about 20 miles and the effect depends entirely on whether the defeat of Extremism in Petrograd is followed by the suppression at the front. If this happens at once the Germans will only loose by the recent advance. Their concentration of troops is insufficient to resist a general Russian pressure.

On the other hand, retreat at this point, unless and immediately counteracted, weakens the whole Russian line, extending from north of Tarnepol in a south-westerly direction to Halitch, and, if the Germans are allowed to develop their first successes in the direction of Halitch, Korniloff may be compelled not only to sacrifice his own gains but also to retreat on a wide front under very different conditions.

DN. July 25, 1917.

Dictatorial Powers Granted To Russian Government: German "Poisoning The Springs."

Petrograd, Monday.

Yesterday's communiqué is the saddest ever issued by any General Staff. It is issued by the Staff who have firm trust in the future and pride in the past, and know that Russia's Allies well remember that the soldiers who weakened and yielded before German agitation are the same who with empty rifles, sticks, and spades fought yard by yard and finally brought to a standstill the whole weight of Mackensen's advance two years ago. It is no shame for the Army when it faints after drinking at the poisoned wells, and the Germans seeing

the Russians eagerly drinking after long centuries of thirst poured their vile bacteria into the newly opened spring of freedom.

The truth is not that democracy means weakness, but that the enemies of democracy, fearing its strength, have need of the vilest of all methods against it. It is now clear enough that the events of the last week were not isolated and independent phenomena. German agents working in Finland and Austrian agents working in Ukraine have in each case been turning to the advantage of Germany perfectly honorable and natural national instincts.

"Fanatic Enthusiast."

Hand-in-hand with the fanatic enthusiasts these false comrades have profited by the simplicity of the Russian soldiers and Russian workmen to sow phrases and to reap, at the moment they recognized it, the whirlwind. The time was well chosen, the first step was to throw Petrograd into an uproar, the next to let the simple soldiers on the front feel that the power behind them was being tossed from hand to hand.

Many of those who, under Extremist influence, refused to obey orders at the front, did so believing that the authority behind these orders had already passed to the Extremist, who would not wish them obeyed. It must be remembered that for two days here Petrograd seemed to be in Extremist hands. Is it not curious that practically simultaneously with this were the disorders in Kieff behind the south-west front, and the disorders in Nijai-Norgored in the center of Russia, followed immediately by the German blow on a front which can hardly have been prepared without the fullest knowledge of the particularly favorable conditions maturing for its delivery?

Complete Exposure.

In each case the history of the disorders exactly corresponds with a history of those in Petrograd. In Nijni, as in the capital, the success of the mutineers seemed complete. The town was at their disposal. What the Petrograd mutineers did not dare to do they did in arresting existing and establishing new authority. In each case good sense reasserted itself and the mutineers were disarmed after that had seemed quite impossible.

What happened here will happen on the front also. Korniloff's gallant advance in Galicia may be liquidated by the Germans, but they have paid for this by a complete exposal of the alliance between German militarism and Russian

Extremism. The ??? which Hindenburg handed to Michaelis may have cost him too dear. It has cost him already this, All Russia knows now who was poisoning the wells. She will not forgive. She has arrested a retreat before. She will do so again.

The New Government.

Endeavor to Rally the Strength of the Whole Country.

Later.

The German offensive and the knowledge that its success is due to the effect on the troops of the news of the happenings in Petrograd has had a tremendous effect here. At the joint meeting of the Executive Committee of the All – Russian Congress (the decisions of which were reported yesterday) the urgency and seriousness of the situation were fully recognized. In urging that unlimited power be given to the Government, M. Tseretelli said "All depends on whether the rallying of the whole living strength of the nation can produce an authority which unites the whole country."

Delegate Dan stated the position unambiguously. "We must not shut our eyes to the fact that Russia is faced with a military dictatorship. We must snatch the weapon from the hands of a military dictatorship. This we can do only by recognizing the Temporary Government as a Committee of Public Safety, as was done in France. We must give it unlimited powers that it may radically overthrow the anarchy of the Left. If we do not find in ourselves strength to put down this anarchy, then it will be done by others, who will first put down anarchy and then put down the Revolution."

There were a few speeches by the Extremist, who afterwards did not vote. The main line of their opposition was that the special powers to be given to the Government are likely to be used more for the struggle with the Left than for the struggle with the Right elements in the country. There is undoubtedly a tendency among certain groups on the Right to consider the defeat of the Extremist as a blow for the Council of Workmen and Soldiers as a whole, forgetting that the Extremist were a small minority in the Council and that their success would have meant its downfall since the real purpose of last week's disorders was to create anarchy from which the minority might profit .

M. Tseretelli at the beginning of his speech announced that the new Government will include 10 members, and that in it will be equally represented the Workmen's and Soldiers Council and the un-socialistic classes.

DN. July 28, 1917.

The 7th And 8th Armies.

Difficulties of Retreat to be Under-estimated.

Petrograd, Thursday.1:30 a.m.

The Russian retreat continues on the front of about 100 miles. It is due to events in Petrograd and the success of the Extremist agitation. Those troops behaved worst who had received most reinforcements from Petrograd. The troops in certain cases actually retired voluntarily after fighting a successful engagement. This is to be explained by the fact that the officers being wounded or killed, the simple soldiers fell immediately under the influence of the Extremist.

There is no need again to outline the Extremist arguments. The main one is always the absence of an agreement between the Allies so simply and clearly worded as to make it obvious to the soldiers that Germany and not the Allies are responsible for the war's continuance.

Extremist at the Front

After this the Extremist ingeniously insist that the real enemy of the Russian soldier is the bourgeois – that is to say, that his real enemy is behind him, not before him. Add to that the events in Petrograd, which made it possible for the Extremist on the front to talk of a counterrevolution in progress, and you have some idea of the nature of the vague notions with which the Extremist turned the Russian soldiers head. One regiment moves off. Another follows, and across the endless rolling valleys of Galicia begins an elemental momentum which destroys the communications and interrupts the supplies of those troops who have tried to stick to their positions so that those, too, are forced to join the general weary stream.

Baggage trains with stores or munitions is an endless string, little four – wheeled carts moving towards the front along the beaten out margins of the Galician roads, are seized, turned around, and made to serve for

a new purpose in carrying the troops eastwards, the troops are, like the poor fellows who, last week here in Petrograd, were turned out into the streets during the disorders, under orders from someone they do not know, and to do something they did not know what. All of that wide country, won mile by mile at the cost of a hundred battles, and for more than a year enjoying peace behind the Russian lines, is now once more wanted by the moving armies. Storks that saw last year nesting in thatched roofs of villages full of Russian reserves, are flying from the burning homestead.

The Advances Eastwards.

So far the retreating Russians, or rather the Russians advancing eastwards show no sign of any intention of stopping on the line. The splendid positions of Brusiloff's old line north and west of Tarnopol have been thrown away. The main defensive line of Sereth has been crossed by the enemy on a wide front. The affect of this change of will (for it can hardly be called German victory since it is not the result of German pressure) places the Seventh and Eighth Armies in a terrible position. At Baryeh the Germans are already across the railway from ??? to Bocbatch, so that the Seventh Army is forced to retreat along the same lines as the even more precariously ??? Eighth Army, which fresh from its victorious offensive of Halitch, is now through no fault of its own, compelled to retire about 50 miles beyond the original positions. It would be idle and foolish to underestimate the difficulty of extricating the guns, stores, and men.

if the Germans had been in great force the retreat of the southern armies would long ago have been cut off, but it is probable that the Germans themselves are somewhat disconcerted by the magnitude of the task before them. With insufficient troops, an advance on this scale even without fighting, is a difficult operation. The German communications, also, cannot be established in a moment over so enormous an area. I should not be surprised at a hold on the part of the enemy caused alike by fatigue and hunger. This may give the Russians time to arrest the movement and time for a change of mood in the capital and the provinces caused by the exposure of the Extremist plot to react on the soldiery.

The Russian soldiers have proved themselves again and again among the bravest in the world. Let them once realize that the Extremists have tricked them, let them once realize peace is to be won by an advance westwards instead of eastwards, and the same troops who today voluntarily retire, tomorrow will voluntarily advance. Hostility against the Extremists, who are felt to be responsible for the misfortunes of Russia, is very strong in the capital.

O. July 29, 1917.

**Russia's Effort At Recovery.
Welding Of Diverse Parties.
Council Of Ten.**

Petrograd, July 27.

Petrograd a week ago was congratulating itself on the liquidation of the Extremist plot to overthrow the Government and undermine the authority of the Council by armed force. Order was restored in the town and the hope was expressed that the new order in the capital would be reflected on the front. That may yet come. We had forgotten that the disorders would be reflected there first, since they preceded the establishment of order. This actually happened. The troops on the front, full of rumors of the overthrow of the Government and anarchy, fell completely under the influence of the extremists, whose party they supposed were now masters of the situation.

The result was that first one regiment and then another, without orders and not pressed by the enemy, walked away from the front, leaving a gap which the enemy speedily turned into a breach and then into a wide thrust, and compelling a general retreat of the three armies of the south-west. The retreat of the 11th Army on and beyond Tarnopol became an elemental movement eastwards.

The better disciplined and more conscientious troops, like the bicyclists, the cavalry, and the artillery, behaved admirably, but were rendered helpless by the dislocation of their communications by the floods of infantry towards the East. The enemy crossed General Brussiloff's old-line west of Tarnopol and pushed on to the Sereth River. Meanwhile they extended southwards driving

the Seventh Army south-eastwards on to the communications of the Eighth Army, which are driven far west beyond Halitch, and is now retiring east of Tluman and Nijnlow.

The stiffening and unification of parties in the capital after last week's bloody disorders were increased by the news from the front, which momentarily welded all parties in a firm determination to save Russia and hold up the retreat. The death penalty was reestablished for treason, disobedience, or instigation to such acts in face of the enemy. But this alone could not alter events. The future will depend on whether the disorganization has gone too far for events in Petrograd to have their influence.

I believe this not so. I believe that the easterly movement of the troops will stop and the soldiers, realizing that they had been tricked by the Germans, and realizing as it is realized here, that the Germans and the Extremist were working together, will hold the German advanced before it reaches the Russian frontier. It is probable that the German commanders had found themselves forced by the Russian retreat into an advance on a far bigger scale than they themselves are prepared for. With insufficient troops they may themselves be in difficulties if the Russians succeed, as they may, in reaffirming disciplined resistance.

Events on the front have hurried the crystallization here. A Government of Ten has been formed, which is a sort of Council of National Safety, and has dictatorial powers, although it reports twice weekly to the Executive Committees. A meeting of all the representative bodies, including, besides the Government, the Executive Committees and Members of the Duma, and of the Municipalities and District Councils, etc., will take place at Moscow. The Government will ask for and be given full support, and will have the sanction of the assembly in the policy it will then pursue.

Meanwhile the Extremist are having a very bad time. The Baltic Fleet and the Army Committees of the Northern front, the Moscow Council, and the Sevastopol Council, and others all express full confidence in the Council of Ten. Many Extremist and alleged German agents have been arrested.

DN. August 2, 1917.

**Army's Recovery
Discipline Restored in Agony of Retreat.**

Petrograd, Tuesday.

News from the front is by no means wholly bad. The Russians are once again accomplishing the impossible in reestablishing the spirit and discipline of the Army while that army is still in the agonies of retreat. The extent to which this has already been accomplished may be judged from the fact that one of the disgraced regiments ordered to be disbanded was forced to submit to this indignity by faithful troops within a mile of the front trenches and while still under fire from the enemy.

East of Tarnopol the enemy has only been able to advance fifteen miles in six days, and is now meeting with a sturdy resistance. It also should be remembered that the Russian Army as a whole is not to blame for the disaster brought upon it by the failure of the few battalions, who themselves owe their disgrace more to their own ignorance, which left them a prey to unscrupulous agitation, than to any conscious disloyalty.

Innumerable Heroes.

Further against the shameful episodes that marked the beginning of the retreat must be set innumerable examples of individual gallantry, equal to those of any soldiers in the world. Hundreds of the youth in Russia have gone knowingly to their death in the desperate hope that their example would recall others to their duty. Let me give one example. Sailors from Rebel who went to the front received orders to break through two lines of the enemy trenches. They took four lines. Then wishing to consolidate their gains they asked for support. Instead, absolutely under the influence of agitators, Russian troops in the rear fired upon them. Under this double fire they at last were compelled to retire to their original positions. Three officers killed themselves rather than go back, and of 350 soldiers only 15 were unwounded.

This and many other such incidents have had a tremendous effect upon the remaining troops. Men of disbanded regiments beg to be allowed to return to the front to rehabilitate themselves, in many cases pointing to the fact that they are wearers of the Cross of Saint George for previous bravery as proof of their actions were due to evil councils, and not to cowardice. On the southwest

front General Korniloff has forbidden meetings of any kind within the area of active operations.

55 Miles German Advance.

The furthest point of the German advance is 60 miles from the starting point. The enemy is now meeting a stern resistance near Hosiatyz. Further north at Zbatar, east of Tarnopol, the Russians are 8 miles into Galician territory.

Southwards the Germans are hurrying to the Kolomes-Czernovitz railway to increase the difficulties in the Chereizech Valley of the retiring Army. The Russian retirement from Bukovina seems almost inevitable, but there needs to be no apprehensions that the troops in Bukovina will be cut off, since presently they have the means of retirement by Czernovitz, and even if that is barred they have direct, though mountainous, roads into Rumania. The danger is that their retirement will annul the promising beginnings of the Rumanian advance.

O. August 5, 1917.

A Grave Crisis.

Cleavage Of Russian Parties.

Petrograd, August 2.

The Council of Ten, to which was given the dictatorial powers by the Executive Committees of the Soviet, has not yet been able to distribute the vacant seats in the Cabinet and form the strong Coalition Ministry which M. Kerensky recognizes as necessary for the salvation of Russia. This may, however, be attained at any moment. The delay is due to the efforts of the parties of the Right to translate the patriotism of the Executive Committees into a confession of weakness. At first the Cadets refused to enter the Ministry unless there were a complete acceptance of their own program and M. Terestchenko and M. Tchernoff resigned. Then they withdrew the objection to M. Terestchenko and produced a modified program. Under the influence of M. Kerensky's determination to adhere to the line laid down when the Government was given dictatorial powers, they may finally join the Government for the good of Russia.

The new Government when formed will probably be a fairly evenly balanced coalition between Socialist and the bourgeois parties. The tension of the situation has not been lessened by a private meeting of the members of the Duma, which was characterized by fierce attacks on the Soviet and by a desire to rehabilitate the Duma as the source of authority. The Duma ceased to exist as a legislative body after the revolution, and the attempt of M. Maslennikoff to deny this and to base its claim to authority on the words of the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, has naturally caused an outburst of indignation among the democratic organizations, and even drew protests of the most decided kind from members of the Duma who attended the second meeting in order to express their disapproval. Moral support was given to the claim of members of the Duma to authority by M. Miliukoff, who thanked M. Godneff for "reporting" to them and, in return, the Duma members gave moral support to the Cadets in their bargaining with M. Kerensky.

The result of this is to emphasize the divergence between the bourgeois and Socialist parties, and to give that divergence the undesirable character of class antagonism. This may end in the re-creation of an opposition to the Government which, under the influence of the events of last week, had practically disappeared.

One thing, however, is perfectly clear. M. Kerensky has not altered his own position and seems quite aware of the danger of strengthening the opposition on the Left by making concessions of too serious a character to the Right. More than once negotiations with the Cadets actually stopped. The inclusion of the Cadets, however, is extremely desirable, because of the personal ability of individuals, which at this moment of crisis should be at the service of Russia. That is the view of moderate opinion.

Meanwhile, although the retreat on the front has not ended, it has taken a wholly different character. The troops have come to themselves and are showing serious resistance. The operation into which the enemy was surprised by the voluntary retirement of the Russian troops has become larger than is safe for the forces at the enemy's command to continue. Yet having been begun, it could not be arrested before a general straightening of the south – western front had been attained. Russian rearguard actions on many sections have turned into serious counter – attacks, with the result that the Galician maelstrom may suck into itself far more troops than the Germans can at this moment conveniently spare from the west. The Russians still hold the north – west corner of Galicia.

DN. August 6, 1917.

**Rival Forces In Russia.
Causes of the Recent Crisis.
Cadets And Kerensky.**

Petrograd, Friday (delayed).

Events here are again drifting towards a crisis. The political situation is again very disturbed, owing mainly to the activities of the Duma members and the attitude of the Cadet Party towards the Provisional Government. A private meeting of members of the Duma, which ended in a direct challenge to Russia's democratic institutions, helped to bring matters to a head. The Duma was not unanimous and many members, including M. Redzianke, pointed out the danger of the course the members were pursuing.

The Cadets have finally refused M. Kerensky's repeated request that they should enter the new Ministry. The basis of their refusal, as shown in a letter from three of them published today, is M. Kerensky's insistence that the Government is bound by the three declarations of March 6, May 6, and July 8 (old-style).

M. Kerensky's Position.

Seeing that the Workmen's and Soldiers Council voted the Government dictatorial powers with those declarations before it, M. Kerensky could hardly take any other line without betraying the trust of the democratic organizations. M. Kerensky did go so far as to say that he saw no vital divergence between the Cadet program and that laid down for the Government by these declarations, but this was not sufficient to satisfy the Cadets, who in their published letter actually tried to fix on M. Kerensky the responsibility for their refusal by finding a contradiction between this statement of opinion and his statement in the published invitation that the Government stands by the declarations.

The action of the Cadets goes far to justify the view taken by their policy by many members of the Executive Committees, who said it was "not so much a boycott of authority, but a struggle for authority."

The political situation has become extremely critical, and it seems possible that M. Kerensky and M. Terestchenke and others may resign in a body.

Critical Situation.

The final refusal of the Cadet leaders to lend their abilities to Russia in this moment of crisis without a change in the Government program, which would be an insult to the democratic organizations on whose sanction the Council of Ten bases their present dictatorial power, means that the new Ministry will be formed from Radical Democrats and Socialist, since the idea of inviting representatives of Moscow and of trade and industry has been abandoned.

The prospect is not encouraging. Such a Ministry is unlikely to be long lived. It will not be so generally representative as the importance of the decisions should require. The Government, instead of containing all the best elements in the country, will be faced by the loud discontented opposition of the Right, who will stir up the nervous mistrust of the Left. Such a situation would offer a new foothold to extremism on both sides, or, as the "Den" newspaper puts it "open the roads both to red terror and to white."

The Cadet attempt to gain too much from the undoubted turn of public opinion in their favor seems likely to end in an intensification of the internal struggle, instead of in the general unity of the nation, which for a moment seemed possible.

Finland's "Independence."

Meanwhile there is complete unity inside the Council of Ten on the subject of Finland. It will be remembered that the Diet passed a law which practically declared the complete and total independence of Finland, and further did not submit this law to the Russian Government. This was the climax of a series of tactless and generous actions on the part of the Finns, who more than any other race stood to gain by the Russian Revolution. There was the refusal of a loan, then M. Tokol's speech, basing that refusal on the fear lest Russia, under Allied influence, should use the money for "Imperialistic purposes." Then came the demand for the removal of troops. Then the creation of a triumphal arch for the return of Finnish volunteers, who had served in the German army.

It is difficult to be sympathetic with the nation which takes these means of showing that it identifies its liberators, the Russians, with the old oppressor,

the Czar's Bureaucracy. Nor was Finland itself unanimous in approving these actions.

[Since Mr. Ransome sent his telegram the Finnish Diet has been dissolved by order of the Russian Provisional Government. New elections will be held in October, and on the assembly of the new Diet a Bill dealing with the regulation of Finland's domestic affairs will be submitted.]

DN. August 8, 1917.

The New Ministry.

M. Kerensky Completes a Difficult Task.

Petrograd, Monday.

The new Government is to hold its first meeting at 9 o'clock tonight. This announcement carries with it the reassuring news that M. Kerensky has been able to form a new Government which at one time seemed doubtful. The story of this last crisis divides itself into three acts. The first found M. Kerensky, after the refusal of the Cadets to enter the Ministry, trying in vain to form a Ministry without them. This at least brought all the parties to realize the extreme seriousness of the moment, and was the first cause of the second act, which took the form of a general conference in the Winter Palace, attended by delegates of all organizations, including the Duma, the Peasants Executive Committee of the Workers and Soldiers Council, etc.

Bitter Party Conflict.

Here was shown the whole bitterness of party conflict. Every speaker recognized the immediate need of a strong Government for the salvation of Russia, but the characteristic of the debate was a dual of words between M. Miliukoff and M. Chheadze, the tendency of which was afterwards summed up by M. Tseretelli when he turned to M. Miliukoff and said: "It is not permissible to ask a political organization to commit suicide, which is what you are asking of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates."

All the various parties and organizations produced resolutions in which the highest common factor was the willingness to entrust M. Kerensky with the formation of a Ministry. The Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates insisted on the Government program of July 8. M. Kerensky

himself remarked: "Since I myself argued that declaration I am not likely to throw it over." The Cadets already insisting less vigorously on the actual repudiation of this program, but are opposed now to any Ministers being responsible to their parties or to any organization outside the Government.

Popular Appointments.

The third act found M. Kerensky forming his Ministry, faced with an unexpected difficulty raised by M. Tseretelli, who was unwilling to see the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates reduced, as the Cadets desired, to a mere party organization by the abolition of its quasi-control over Socialist Ministers. On the question of program, M. Kerensky remained firm and in the negotiations with candidates for portfolios their willingness to enter the Ministry with the program based on the declaration of July 8 was made the first question, although it was not decisive in individual cases.

The new Ministry includes some altogether satisfactory appointments. Not a single party in the country will have anything but praise for the appointment of the Cadet, Dr. Oldenburg, as Minister of Education. He at present is Secretary of the Academy of Science, and has done much for popular education. He is a great authority on Russian folklore, and is well known outside Russia for his Central Asian archaeological expeditions. Again, nothing could be better than the appointment of M. Avkerentieff, the President of the Peasants Council, as Minister of Internal Affairs.

The crisis may be said to have passed, and it passed without being carried from the debating rooms into the street

DN. August 9, 1917.

Russia's Main Task

M. Kerensky and His Policy.

Full Powers For The New Government.

Petrograd, Tuesday.

The new government which has been formed while the communiqués from the front announced daily the advance of the enemy between the Preth and the Dnieter, at a time when the factories are being brought one by one to a partial

standstill owing to the lack of fuel, due in turn to the lack of transport, at a time when the lengthening queues outside the shop doors murmur apprehensively of the coming winter, represents, more than any of the predecessors, the consciousness of the national danger, and the realization that in unity and mutual concession alone can the striving parties hope to bring Russia through the dangers and difficulties which beset her.

The formation of the Government has been difficult for two reasons. The main opposing parties regard each other quite simply as public dangers. The Cadets see in the policy of the Executive Committees the road to ruin. The Executive Committees sees in the policy of the Cadets the road to reaction.

Meanwhile, amidst these radical divergence's, stand the figures who are beyond the immediate tumult, and throw their whole energies into the salvation of their country. Not the least striking picture in the crisis is that of M. Kerensky, his passionate will working on his nerves instead of on his physical strength, and turning, for advice to the aged grandmother of the Russian Revolution, Katerina Breshkovskais. I remember seeing him in the first conference of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates greeting her on her arrival from Siberia with an impassioned speech, and she all the while stroking his head like a mother, gaining the enthusiasm of an already over – strained child.

A New War Council.

Striking, too, is the choice of the two negotiators between M. Kerensky and the Cadets, on the one hand, the solid landowner and patriot Rodziasko, and on the other, the old anarchist and no less fervent patriot, Kropotkin. The result of their endeavors is a fairly evenly balanced Coalition Ministry, from which will be chosen a small Committee of Defense more or less corresponding to our own War Council. The members of this will probably be M. Kerensky, M. Nekrasoff, M. Terestchenko, and M. Savinkoff, who an old revolutionary, is now Director of the Ministry of War, and was among the first to recognize the need of the death penalty in reestablishing discipline on the front.

The greatest interest is taken in the retirement of M. Tseretelli. He was asked to join the new Government, but in the end persuaded M. Kerensky to agree with him that "now, when unity between all forces of democracy" is essential, it was best for him to consecrate himself to activity in the ranks of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates. Here in the Petrograd Council last night

there was an important discussion in which M. Tseretelli secured full support for the new Government, pointing out that it held by the program of July 8, and that the balance of forces in the Ministry was a guarantee for the support of the Councils policy. It was admitted that the Council is less strong than formally, though still representing the majority of the nation. This was attributed to the growing strength of the Right and to the irresponsible activities of the Left Extremist, with the lamentable results of the disorders in the capital and the disasters on the front.

To Save the Country.

At one o'clock in the morning a joint meeting of the Executive Committees was held, when M. Tseretelli again spoke, summing up thus the new situation: "Formerly we not only controlled authority, but also fulfilled its functions. Authority was unable to do without the collaboration of democratic organizations. Now the whole and complete authority must be handed over to the temporary Government, and while the revolutionary democracy will retain the power of criticism it will not interfere with its orders. We must criticize the Government, but we must not cut the ground from under its feet."

The result was entirely satisfactory. The joint Executive Committee passed a vote calling the whole democracy to active support of the Government and at the same time expressing the belief that only by basing itself on the organs of revolutionary democracy in the country and at the front can the temporary Government proceed along the road of salvation for the country and the revolution. M. Kerensky made a short speech to the Executive Committee of the Peasants, asking their support and winning a tremendous ovation. "Before us is one task only – to save the country and drive the enemy from our native land," he said. "We have not, nor shall we have, any other hopes or wishes than for the good of the people."

DN. August 11, 1917.

Kerensky's Task.

Need for Regeneration and a Call for Unity.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The Coalition Government exists and is promised supported by the whole nation, but for the moment both sides are engaged in belittling the concessions they have made. No longer is there any sort of secrecy about the radical opposition of the Cadets to the democratic organizations. Baulked of the complete victory over the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, which in the first days of the crisis they believed to be assured, and finding that public opinion does not hold them guiltless in precipitating that crisis, they now give an air of insecurity to the Coalition by simultaneously promising to support and violently attacking its program.

On the other hand, M. Kerensky's formula – "Responsibility of the Government before its own existence and the country" – was not opposed by the democracy, and the Socialist Ministers have accepted it in joining the Ministry. As M. Avksentsed puts it: "Accepting that formula, a Socialist Minister shall but inform the Workmen's and Soldiers Council of our work in the Government." That is to say, that neither side can claim a victory, really lies with M. Kerensky, who in face of extraordinary difficulties, when party passions have been excited to a high degree, has yet succeeded in forming his Coalition.

I do not think that people in England yet realize the hardships this country is going through. M. Shingareff, in the All Russian Cadet Assembly, pointed out that the tremendous blow dealt by the war to the weak economic organization of the country has been redoubled by the revolution. The Laborers, abominably overpriced under the old regime, naturally asked too much under the new. They did not know what the national debt meant, nor how their own demands would eventually react on the whole country, and so on themselves. The new Director of the Ministry of Finance, Professor Bernatsky, says the productivity of industry has fallen 25%. The high rate of wages makes workmen unwilling to work overtime. In most cases wages exceed the value of the goods produced.

It is in these circumstances, with the enemy reaping the Galician harvest, and pressing on towards the Bessarabian cornfields, that M Kerensky has formed his Ministry, and, firm in the midst of chaos calls for unity in words that history will not forget: "Before such unity the foreign foe will not be terrible nor will there be terror in internal ruin. Freedom, welded with national unity and national inspiration, cannot be conquered. The Russian people will carry her through blood and suffering to a shining future, and will create a new, a free, and a great Russia for the good of all humanity."

O. August 12, 1917.

Russian Army's Moral.

Growing Resistance To The Enemy.

M. Kerensky's Coup.

Petrograd, August 9.

On the line of the River Zbrucz the Germans are exactly where they were last week and are busy fortifying positions and organizing the local population in a hurried reaping of Galician corn. Activity is shifting southwards. The fall of Czernowitz practically compelled a general retirement out of the Bukowina, and offensive operations are being undertaken by Mackensen's group in an attempt to complete the occupation of Rumania, and by a stroke between the Pruth and the Dniester to threaten Bessarabia. But good sense is now making steady headway in the Russian Army against the bewilderment and panic artificially created by the agitators.

The resistance offered by the Russian troops is increasing, and, here and there, even turning to successful counter offensives, though not yet on any very large scale. Only those with very short memories will condemn as a coward the Russian soldier, whose heroic struggle under difficulties has been for three years the admiration of his Allies. He is very ignorant, very simple-minded, easily moved by oratory, and for months on end he has stood on the shifting sands of politics.

Competent eye –witnesses of the retreat are unanimous in describing it as exactly similar in character to the puzzled and panicky disorders in Petrograd, which were the signal for it, and, as none now deny, were exclusively the work of provocateurs. A retreat on such a scale, and of such a character, as elemental as the deluge, and the officers and the steady troops who succeeded in bringing it to a standstill, have added another to the long list of miracles in Russian history.

Their work will now be made easier if, as is possible, the difficulty of creating new coalition is compensated for by its stability. Its lasting power depends on the capacity for self-abnegation of the parties now pledged to support it. Its actual creation is a great personal victory for M. Kerensky, who brought all parties suddenly to their senses and to realization of the extraordinary seriousness of the position by himself resigning.

The new Ministry is a Ministry of the crisis, as M. Kerensky insists in eloquent appeal for unity in face of grave national danger, not only from the enemy, but from financial and economic ruin and from rapidly spreading shortage of necessities.

A Bill has been proposed ensuring that the factories working for defense shall have the first call on supplies of fuel and raw materials, since the lack of these is actually bringing some works to a standstill. The need of control to raise the fallen productivity of labor is acutely felt as is also the need that plenipotentiary arbitrators should avoid loss of time in disputes.

The Finnish bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, although they want Finnish independence when the time comes, are not displeased with the Provisional Government's action in dissolving the Diet. They want Finnish independence recognized by international agreement, and not prematurely grabbed from Russia in a moment of extreme difficulty.

DN August 13, 1917.

Kerensky's Task.

Drastic Powers for Dealing with Mischief Makers.

Petrograd, Saturday.

The self-suppression of the Executive Committee in giving uncontrolled power to the Government meets with no corresponding generosity on the part of the minorities on the Right and Left. Thus an Extremist motion, passed for private consideration by a small number of members and criticizing the action of the Government in arresting Extremist responsible for the armed manifestations of July 3 and 4 (old-style) is seized on by parties on the Right and used as an excuse for protesting that the Executive Committee as a whole are attempting to undermine the Government.

This attitude will only help the cause of the Extremist. These latter, though momentarily discredited by the disorders and the visible effects of their work in the Army, are again plucking out courage, confident that with increasing hardship the willingness of the poorer classes to listen to moderate views will lessen, and that sooner or later, hunger and dissatisfaction with the war will

bring the people again into the streets and in the mood to accept the Extremist leadership.

Their present efforts are designed merely to hold their actual followers together and to lessen the impression of their extinction, which followed the clearing up of the last disorders. This is the explanation of the present secret conference of the Extremist which elected as honorary presidents Lenin, Zinovieff, Trotsky, Lunacharsky, and others, either wanted by the police or already under arrest.

It is possible that the new measures introduced today, giving the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of War the right to disallow and close in wartime meetings and assemblies, which might be harmful from a military point of view, or used in suppression of this conference.

There has been a serious conflict at Kieff between Ukrainian regiments and cossairs and Don Cossacks, in which 50 soldiers were killed and wounded. The trouble arose when the Ukrainians were leaving for the front.

A Special Commission is investigating the incident on the spot. A meeting of the Council of Assembly recognized the presence of a counter – revolutionary propaganda in Kieff, and decided that they further stay of cuirassiers and Don Cossacks in Kieff constituted a danger. They propose that only Ukrainian regiments shall remain in Kieff.

DN. August 14, 1917.

**"Vote Of English Democracy."
Russian View Of Labors Decision.**

Petrograd, Sunday.

A long Reuters telegram describing the meeting of the Labor Party and the decision to send delegates to Stockholm, and a long agency telegram describing Mr. Havelock Wilson's meeting of protest, arrived here last night too late for comment in most of the morning papers. As far as I am at present able to learn, many people remembering the MacDonald episode assume that Mr. Wilson is in a position to overrule the majority decision by refusing transport to the delegates.

There is great interest in Mr. Henderson's reported resignation, which is not explained in the Russian papers. The "Bourse Gazette" prints a leading article referring to the Unionist attacks on Mr. Henderson, and attaches particular importance to the Labor Party vote, because of the efforts made against it. The paper says:

"The pressure put upon the English democracy from the Right, however, had not the success on which the Conservatives counted. The opponents to an international Conference turned out to be in a minority." Further, the "Gazette" says, "The vote of the English democracy is a great victory for the Russian revolutionary idea, even apart from these direct results which it will have in the immediate future. The mere fact that representatives of all the democracies, both fighting and neutral nations, are meeting face-to-face must have tremendous significance, since at this meeting the position will become clear, and we shall learn definitely what the democracy of the Central Empires wants and what or whom it is defending in its "Scheidemaznie" majority. At this meeting all the cards will be laid on the table, and here in any case the card of the militarist will lose. The vote of the English democracy is a great step forward in the general political movement, bringing peace nearer by force, not only of arms, but also of ideas.

DN August 16, 1917 #1

M. Kerensky: Allies Playing Into Hands of Germany.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

I was sitting with Dr. Oldenburg, Minister of Education, at the Ministry when the door suddenly opened and M. Kerensky flung into the room. He shook hands, sat down, and proceeded at once to business, listening to Dr. Oldenburg's report. He was dressed in a khaki uniform, with brown leggings – a very different figure from the thin, anxious looking young Labor member I used to watch with interest in the Duma before the revolution.

Revolutions and responsibility have acted on him like a tonic. His face seems stronger, his hands less delicate. His whole figure, as he sat listening intently, now and then making a short question, was one of energy and intellectual activity.

A Wrong Deduction.

When the report was over Dr. Oldenburg ask him if he knew an address I wanted in connection with the Stockholm Conference. M. Kerensky fired up at once, and said:

"There has been serious misunderstanding. They are drawing up a wrong deduction from our Note. We meant simply to state our position. We are a Coalition Government, and, therefore, since the Conference is a party matter we cannot, as a Coalition, be bound by its decisions. Our Conference, the Conference of Governments, is the London Conference. The Swedish Conference is a conference of Labor Parties. That is all we wish to say. That does not mean we are opposed to it. It is not our business to be opposed to it or in favor of it."

I said: "But it has been said that M. Albert Thomas declared you said that you personally are opposed to the Stockholm Conference."

"Nothing of the sort," said M Kerensky. "I think it of great importance, although personally I think it would have been of greater importance if it had taken place while we were advancing instead of in the present conditions. But I'm not opposed to it. No, I have insisted again and again that any opposition offered to it by the Allied Governments, any difficulties put in the way of the delegates, is simply playing into the Germans hands."

I asked, "May I telegraphed that" M. Kerensky replied, "Certainly. You can telegraphed that I said it to you in the presence of M. Oldenburg as a witness."

No Obstacles.

He laughed, and then continued seriously: "Say this. Say that the Russian Government regards the Swedish Conference exactly as you regard it – that is as a Conference not of Governments but parties. As a Coalition Government we can be neither for nor against the Conference called by one of the parties which are in coalition. For that reason, personally as President of the Coalition, I have made no speeches about it. But we consider that no obstacles should be put in the way of it, and we shall regard the Conference itself as an extremely important and significant expression of public opinion. It is an entirely wrong deduction to say that we are opposed to the Conference."

DN. August 16, 1917. #2

British Labour Vote.

A More Friendly Feeling in Russia Towards England.

Petrograd, Tuesday

All the newspapers print leaders on the vote of the British Labour Party. The general attitude is enthusiastic, although the papers on the extreme Right and extreme Left are still, for widely different reasons, rather skeptical as to the actual fate of the Conference.

There has not been in any Russian paper any sign that the Russian government is opposed to the Stockholm Conference, nor is the Government, as at present constituted, likely to be opposed to it, though it may recognize that the voice of Russian democracy at the Conference table would have been stronger if the recent disorders and defeats had been avoided. Certain parties in Russia as in England, are opposed to the Conference, but these parties are in a minority.

British Labour Vote

The Labour vote, whatever may be the final result, does much to lessen the hostility that was growing in Russian democracy. The official organ of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates points out that it was more difficult for the English working classes to answer the call of the Russian revolution than for the working classes of other countries.

The decision of the Labour Conference says the Workmen's and Soldiers organ shows that the situation is really changing. "Our recent guest of yesterday and opponent of the International Conference, Comrade Henderson, is today the warm supporter, and prefers to resign his Ministerial post rather than refrain from the work of uniting the forces of all proletariats in the struggle for peace. Together with Comrade MacDonald, Comrade Henderson stands now in the first rank of English fighters for the realization of the flaming hopes of the suffering peoples of Europe, in the first rank of those who respond to the call of the Russian Revolution."

A Step Forward.

The leader writer proceeds to point out that all the difficulties are not yet overcome. Imperialists of all kinds, he says, will do all that is possible to interfere, "All the same, the decision of our English comrades is a tremendous step forward. The hearts of tens of millions of working folk will be brighter and happier when the news of this decision-reaches them. The peace work of the Russian Revolution moves forward."

The general impression of the Press so far is one of surprise and satisfaction. Surprise, because they had been led to believe that English Labour took a more uncompromising attitude, and satisfaction at learning that lack of sympathy between the Russian and English working classes is not as great as the majority had begun to assume.

DN August 17, 1917.

Labor & Stockholm.

Kerensky Interview Clears the Air for Tuesday's Conference.

Petrograd & "Covering Letter."

Petrograd, Wednesday.

Today the Russian Press is full of puzzled commentaries on the references in Mr. Lloyd George's letter to Mr. Henderson to the communications from the Russian Government.

The "Bourse Gazette" is surprised that "we learn first from London of the radical change in the views of the Russian Government on the role and meaning of the Stockholm Conference." Then, after referring to the semi – official statement published today, expressing the benevolent neutrality of the Government, the leader writer expresses the belief that Mr. Lloyd George is mistaken in assuming that any change of opinion in the Russian Government would alter the decision of the British working men.

A Misapprehension.

The "Den" refers to the simultaneous statements by Mr. Lloyd George and M Thomas that the Russian Government does not sympathize with the

conference. "M Thomas," the journal adds, "alone said this definitely, but he added nothing to confirm his statement that M. Kerensky himself wished that the conference should not take place." As you will have learned from the cable I sent you last night, M Kerensky wishes nothing of the sort, so that M Thomas must be under some misapprehension. Further, the "Den" says "The force of circumstances compelled the Russian Government – wishing to remain in alliance with England and France – to observe complete neutrality with regard to the Stockholm question." The paper then regrets that M. Terestcheko did not limit himself to such a declaration. It refers to the explanatory letter, saying that the object of the declaration was to remove the impressions that the Russian Government warmly desired that the Stockholm Conference should take place.

Who is Responsible?

The article continues: "The Minister for Foreign Affairs consider it necessary to take measures less this argument should be needed for influencing British public opinion. But did he think of the other question – whether his upcoming letter would not be used for influencing opinion in the opposite direction, which is what has actually happened? In wishing to preserve neutrality our Foreign Minister ought not to have helped Mr. Lloyd George in his campaign against the Stockholm Conference."

The "Work of the People" attributes the letter and consequent misunderstanding not to M. Terestcheko, but to the Russian Ambassador in London. It expresses extreme dissatisfaction, and hints at a possible new crisis.

The official organ of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates takes a very sober point of view. It says: "We, of course, in the most definite matter, can declare that the International Socialist Conference summoned by us was never thought of by its initiators as a Government, or inter-Government, conference, but only as a conference of working democracy. On the contrary, we should consider it a very regrettable fact if any one of the organizations – Russian included – invited to the Conference were to council with its government as to whether it should take part in the Conference, or as to what it should do there. Such a party would not be a desirable guest at the Conference..... We do not wish, and shall not try, to give our own representatives there the character of an official diplomatic mission."

DN. August 18, 1917.

Stockholm.

Explanation of the "Covering Letter."

Not Sent By Russian Government.

Petrograd, Thursday.

The affair of the alleged change in the attitude of the Russian Government towards the Stockholm Conference becomes more and more mysterious. Mr. Henderson's speech refers to the accusation that he had withheld information of a telegram which stated that M. Kerensky was opposed to the Conference.

M. Terestchenko, in an interview with journalist published today, confirms the statement of M. Kerensky's which I telegraphed the night before last. He says firstly, that no such telegram was ever sent and, secondly, that only a few days ago as on previous occasions, both he and M. Kerensky spoke with the Allied Ambassadors of the desirability of putting no difficulty in the way of receiving passports.

The telegram which must have been the source of the whole misunderstanding seems to have been a short answer of a few words, sent by M. Terestchenko in reply to a question from London as to whether the Government would be in any way bound by the decision of the Labor Party at the Conference. This telegram, of course, said that the Russian Government considered that the question of war and peace would be decided by the Governments as a whole and not by separate parties.

Making Inquiries in London.

M. Terestchenko says: "I make no comments. In the correspondence between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Henderson is mentioned a letter of our London Charge d'Affairs which accompanied the official declaration of the attitude of the Russian Government towards the Conference. The text of this letter is known to me only from the newspaper. I have sent to London an inquiry as to the contents."

M. Terestchenko also said that the attitude of the Russian Government towards the Conference has never changed. "The discussion of questions touching the aims of the war at this Conference," he says, "will be looked upon

by the Government as an expression of views on that question of the parties and organizations which take part in the Conference. As for official discussion of questions connected with the war, it will take place at the coming inter – Ally Conference. The attitude of the Government towards the Stockholm Conference has never changed. We stand on a known platform, and that platform must remain unchanged."

Removing Misunderstandings

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M. Terestchenko points out that the Governments attitude was known long ago, and that M. Thomas and M. Vandervelde and others negotiated directly with the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates quite independently of their relations with the Temporary Government.

Yesterday M. Kerensky and M. Terestchenko once more pointed out to the Allied Ambassadors the desirability of removing the formal difficulties to the journey of delegates to Stockholm.

From the whole of the facts now made public it is clear that there has been some misunderstanding, and it is important that the matter should be cleared up at once so that the Russian Labor Parties shall know that the public suggestion in England that the Russian Government is opposed to the Conference was the result of a misinterpretation, and that the statement of that M. Kerensky is opposed to the Conference is inaccurate.

DN. August 20, 1917.

Greeting Mr. Henderson.

M. Tseretelli's Approval of British Labour Party's Action.

Petrograd, Sunday.

M. Terestchenko has made it clear that the Government has not changed its attitude towards the Stockholm Conference, and he has shown that any misunderstanding was not due to any letter or telegram by either M. Kerensky or himself. In an interview with M. Tseretelli I asked him his opinion on the suggestion in Mr. Lloyd George's speech that the conference would hinder the establishment of discipline in the Russian Army.

M. Tseretelli replied: "On the contrary, it will remove doubts and misunderstandings that has made that difficult in the past. We believe – I am myself convinced – that the fighting power of the Army will be strengthened when it knows that the democracies are doing their best towards peace.

"Our attitude at the conference will make it clear that until the German Socialist have broken with the imperialism of Wilhelm no sort of talk is likely to be of any use.

"We do not go to the Conference as representatives of the Government, but as representatives of working folk, and we expect others to do the same."

I asked him what he thought of the change in Mr. Henderson's attitude, and he replied, "Please say that I personally as well as the whole Executive Committee acclaim Mr. Henderson's action, and that we greet with the deepest satisfaction the decision of our comrades, the workingmen of England, to take part in the Conference."

DN. August 21, 1917.

**Russia's War Policy.
Misunderstanding Over Stockholm.
Governments Trust In Democracy.**

Petrograd, Sunday.

For the first time since the unhappy events of July 3 and 4 (old-style) it is possible to form a fairly clear idea of the new relations between the Government and the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates. A number of incidents have combined to eliminate and crystallize the position.

After the July mutiny, when the Executive Committee gave dictatorial powers to the Government, when after M. Kerensky's resignation all the parties empowered him to form the new Government, the position of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates was in a cloud of misapprehension, deliberately stirred up by opponents who blame them for not admitting at once that all the Extremist leaders were in German pay – which, as might have been

expected, has turned out not to be the case – and sought by every possible means to use the criminal folly of the Extremist leaders to weaken the Council as a whole, both in the popular mind and as a power in the State.

London Misunderstanding.

The new state of affairs produced by the patriotic self – abnegation of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Delegates in giving dictatorial power to the Government made this plan of the Right seem possible. It has failed. When the history comes to be written it is possible that the turning point will be found in the London misunderstanding about the Stockholm Conference, which certainly contributed to the realization by the democratic members of the Government of the dangers of the position.

The clearing up of that misunderstanding was followed by M. Kerensky's appearance in the Executive Committee with the words of extreme importance, promising that no attempt "to create conditions which would force democracy to stand aside" should succeed. "so long as I can count on the support of the democratic classes and on the plenipotentiary organs of democratic organizations (executive committees)."

Governments Position.

The resolution proposed by M. Teretelli and eventually passed by a big majority, referred with satisfaction to this and "to the detailed and clear declaration of the Temporary Government putting an end to misunderstanding which had arisen in connection with the foreign policy of the revolutionary Government." It also contained this sentence, which may help to make the meaning of that misunderstanding as a political event itself clearer. After referring to the attack on the Executive Committees and the attempt to undermine the Temporary Government, the resolution continues: "At the same time all open and secret parties of Imperialism are trying to exploit the misfortune on the front for the purpose of turning the foreign-policy of Russia to the aims and methods condemned by the popular masses, and to turn it just at the moment when the revolutionary democratic policy was already beginning to have real results in Western European countries."

The Extremists.

At the same meeting which thus clearly illustrated the relations of the majority in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers with the Right, the appearance of

Kameneff, who was arrested as one of those responsible for the mutiny, and suspected of treachery, and has been released, since there was nothing against him, illustrated equally clearly their relations with the extreme Left.. Kameneff was met with tremendous applause, but proceeded immediately to repeat his old belief that the Council of Workmen and Soldiers should take all power, since only by breaking with the bourgeoisie can the revolution be made international. This called out an immediate protest from one of the Moderates, who said that he had applauded Kameneff just as he would also applaud Lenin if he to face the courts and proved his innocence. "But," he said, "I cannot agree with him. The counter – revolutionaries have never rejoiced so much as over our disasters on the front. Our revolution has its true road, and follows it unswervingly, but you all the time just like those on the Right, hold us back, and then ask us why we do not go forward sufficiently quickly." That exactly states the position.

I think the last few days may be summed up by saying that the Government, feeling itself attacked from the Right, realized that its strongest support is in the Council of Workers and Soldiers, and that the Council realizes that their own victory lies in securing the victory of the Government.

DN. August 24, 1917.

New Ferment In Russia.

British Labor Vote on Stockholm.

Fresh Statement By M. Kerensky.

[It will be noted that the following telegram from our Special Petrograd Correspondent, Mr. Arthur Ransome, though written on Wednesday, was dispatched before the news of the Labour Party's decision reaffirming their previous vote on the Stockholm Conference had obtained currency in Petrograd. It is valuable, however, as reflecting Russian opinion on the subject.]

Petrograd, Wednesday.

The position here is unstable and expectant. On the one hand the people look forward with mixed hope and apprehension to the Moscow Conference; on the other they watch the newspapers for the latest telegrams from London concerning the attitude of the British Labour Party.

I am inclined to believe that if the Labor Party reverses the previous decision, and decides not to send delegates to Stockholm, the effect here will be extremely bad. The impression here was that the Labour Party was reconsidering its first decision as the result of Mr. Lloyd George's statement that the Russian Government was not in favor of the Conference. The Government here took immediate steps to contradict that statement, and to contradict it as publicly as possible. But if the Labour Party reverses its decision, then it will be assumed by certain parties here that the Government did not contradict the British statement publicly enough, and that secretly it was willing to profit by the false impression – which is certainly welcomed by the minority parties on the Right.

Moscow Conference.

The result will be that the Government will face the Moscow Conference – where it will certainly come under heavy fire from the Right minorities – just at the moment when the great democratic organizations on the Left will be suffering from bitter disappointment and be tempted not to give the Government their complete confidence.

It is not to the interest of England that the Coalition should be weakened which sets itself the task of keeping Russia united, of reestablishing the fighting strength of her Army, and of carrying through economic difficulties of the most threatening kind. It will be hard to exaggerate the irony of the situation if the difficulties of the Government are increased with the ostensible purpose of lessening them, in spite of the urgent appeal of persons and parties most intimately concerned.

The Extremist are already accusing the Government of departing from the program of July 8 in this matter, and M. Kerensky again today has had to contradict the Extremist statement that he and the Government are opposed to the Conference. The official organ of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates prints a statement from M. Kerensky, who, after stating the formal position of the Government with regard to Stockholm, in the same terms as he stated that to me, repeats: "The Temporary Government at the same time is making every effort to ensure that the Conference shall take place with the participation of representatives of the Socialist Parties of the countries allied with ourselves."

A Possible Boycott.

The Left Extremist will very probably boycott the Moscow Conference, thereby playing into the hands of the Extremist on the Right. These latter are basing great hopes on Moscow. This Conference, the original aim of which was to strengthen the Coalition in its effort to save the country, now threatens a general embattlement of the class struggle. Its original object was unity, and already there is talk of "ultimatums" to be presented to the Coalition by the Bourgeois parties.

Meanwhile, though the condition of the Army is certainly improving the Coalition Government faced with difficulties on all sides. There are again rumors that the Finns are going to disregard the Government and summon the Diet – "to continue its interrupted session." The Ukrainians are discontented with the instructions given to the assembly, and a deputation of Mussulmans bring bitter complaints about the state of affairs in Central Asia.

DN. August 25, 1917. #1

**Enemy Advance On Riga.
Threefold Object of the Germans.
New Divisions.**

Petrograd, Thursday.

The German offensive on the Riga front has a triple object. Any success there is likely to be reflected in the attitude of the Finnish Social Democrats, and would increase the already great difficulties of Russia. A minor success there, such as breaking through to the coast of the Riga Gulf west of Lake Babir, would shorten their front and lessen the danger of a Russian counter. A larger success such as the taking of Riga, would give a moral stimulus to Germany.

So far there are no signs that even the smallest of these objects will be attained, although during the last 10 days fresh German divisions have been brought to the Riga front. The ground where the Germans have advanced was only lightly held, and so far their gains are limited to the fact that the Russian advanced posts have retired on positions further east.

DN. August 25, 1917--#2

**Two Extremes In Russia.
Anxiety Over Moscow Conference.
Anti-- Socialist Block.**

Petrograd, Thursday.

News of the confirmation by the British Labour Party of the decision to send delegates to Stockholm arrived last night, and was received here with a feeling of great relief, tempered by doubt as to the effect of the smallness of the majority. The question asked is: "Will the smallness of the majority strengthen the Government's decision to refuse passports?"

With regards to the Constituent Assembly the inevitable has happened, and the Government announces the postponement of the elections for 10 months. This cannot be helped. It was a physical impossibility to prepare the machinery for elections on such a scale by the date first named. Nonetheless, the announcement will be received with disquiet on the Left since every day's delay strengthens counter-revolutionary tendencies in the country. Anxiety is also growing with regard to the Moscow Conference. Representatives of the Bourgeois parties by refusing to press for admission to the preliminary meetings and by speeches directed against democratic organizations as a whole have done much to create this anxiety.

There is much talk of the irreconcilable position taken up by the anti-- Socialist block with regard to democracy and the Government. This might lead it to a new crisis and the collapse of the Coalition. In that case, says the "Den" newspaper, "If the Moscow Conference becomes the origin of the collapse of the Coalition Ministry, and perhaps the prologue to rival war, then we shall remember who were the aggressors."

Meanwhile, the democratic organizations as a whole are proceeding steadily about their business, loyally supporting the Coalition Government, and, while naturally disturbed by the manifestations on the Right, doing their best to control the discontented Extremist. The democratic conference on national defense, the object of which was the mobilization of the whole democratic strength of the country for national defense and support of the Government ended yesterday with the utterance M. Tcheidze of words which illustrate in the clearest manner the attitude of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers

Delegates as a whole to the Extremist minority: "I consider that at the present critical and profoundly tragic moment refusal to take part in the work of national defense is a crime before the country before the revolution and before the International.

DN. August 27, 1917.

Hostile Parties.

How the Different Groups Regard the Conference.

Petrograd, Saturday.

The importance of the Moscow Conference will be very great in the historical development of the Russian Revolution. It is certainly going to be very different in character from the general Conference of all classes, which was originally planned to give moral support to the Government by showing the unity of the country behind it. The last month has seen a gradual change in the positions occupied by almost all political groups. The main division between the groups is unfortunately a class division, based on the opposition of the propertied class to the July 8 program of the Coalition Government. That is the essential fact in the whole struggle.

The opposition to that program unites in self – defense all the older political parties under the more or less acknowledged leadership of the Cadets. The military question, although naturally the most important does not divide Russia in the same definite manner as this of the Government program. It should be remembered that the Committee of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates is definitely in favor of Russia making the most effort in the war.

The fundamental question is this class question of the Government program, and for that reason there is stronger feeling on both sides than at any previous encounter of the opposing tendencies.

Each side accuses the other of following party interest to the exclusion of the interest of the nation.

DN. August 28, 1917.

Russia's New Danger.

Kerensky's Fight For Unity.

Moscow Clouds.

Activity Of Disruptive Forces.

Petrograd, Sunday.

The first day of the Moscow Conference is safely over. The Left Extremist have caused strikes on the tramways and in the hotels and restaurants, in spite of the urgent appeals of the Executive Committees. On the other hand, the Right Extremist, by their comments on M. Kerensky's speech, make it clear that they are not prepared to yield allegiance without a struggle.

When M. Kerensky had finished speaking he passed close by M. Miliukoff and shook hands with him. M. Miliukoff asked him: "Why are you so nervous?" M. Kerensky replied: "Because I am anxious," and passed on. That incident illustrates exactly the general feeling of the Conference.

The Government has gone to Moscow and called the Conference, M. Kerensky said in his speech, not for mutual recrimination, but to state the truth. But the Government is not blind. It knows that many of those who have come to meet it have come with quite another object than that of sinking there class interest and supporting it in Russia's time of difficulty. There are those on the Right who would rejoice in a military dictatorship if only a dictator would begin by dropping in the campfire the Governments program of July 8. There are those on the Left who would profit by this to strengthen their opposition to the Coalition; they mistrust all parties but their own; they appeal to the Executive Committee to throw the bourgeoisie over for good and take the whole power into the hands of the Democratic Councils. Those are the tensions in the air of the great theater. That is the hidden conflict which involves the fate of Russia, of democracy, and so of Europe. That is the conflict of which M. Kerensky was conscious, not only during his speech, but also afterwards.

Premiers Supreme Task.

The party leaders are not so deeply affected by such conflicts, since they take part in them. But for M. Kerensky, who from the first day of the Revolution has thrown his whole soul, his whole energy, his whole faith in the ultimate triumph

of democracy, into the superhuman task of holding the Russian nation together, the Moscow Conference is the supreme moment of his personal task. The forces of disruption are banded together on the Right. The forces of disruption are banded together on the Left. And M. Kerensky, with a proud statement: "The Government will not hide its head under its wing," meets both dangers at once.

The Premiers opening speech was characteristic of him, Frank enough to startle his opponents on the Right outspoken enough to win applause alternately from both sides. It was spoken with great passion. His voice rose sometimes to a shout. Towards the end of the speech he weakened a little from fatigue. M. Kerensky's delivery is always volcanic. He gesticulates as much with his face as with his hands. It is not beautiful nor polished. It has none of the ease of most Western orators. Each of his speeches is like an eruption of a volcano whose force is too great for the mountain that contains it. I always have the feeling that something will give way, and that blood will pour out as well as words.

Freedom and Fatherland.

The speech was full of memorable phrases. "For us, for me, there can be no Fatherland without freedom, and no freedom without Fatherland." "I would like to find new, not human, words to set before you the whole throbbing sorrow that seizes each one of us when we see it to the very end, when we see from all sides and understand that the danger is both here and also there."

With regards to peace and war, M. Kerensky referred to the Pope's proposal as a proposal made to the Allies to conclude a separate peace without Russia. "After the offer of a separate peace to us they turn to our Allies, through a neutral sacred person, with just such an invitation to a separate peace. We rejected the proposal made to ourselves, and with the same scorn these attempts made in the opposite direction, were rejected by the Governments friendly to ourselves. And I, in the name of the great Russian nation, will say one thing only – we expected and could expect nothing else." As to internal politics, he announced that the Government holds to the published program. The speech ended as it began, with a warning to both sides and with the general summons to support the Government.

The next sitting of the Conference takes place tomorrow (Monday morning). The feeling of Ministers is cheerful now that the first day of the Conference has gone off successfully. There is hope that the Government's position may

be strengthened instead of weakened, but I do not myself believe that the parties on the Right will give way without a struggle.

DN. August 30, 1917.

'Moscow –and After: Close of the All-Russian Conference: Vital Issues: Kerensky Restores the Death Penalty: Irreconcilables: The Gulf Between the Right and the Left.'

Petrograd, Tuesday, 12:30 a.m.

One thing is already clear in the Moscow Conference. M. Kerensky's speech has not fulfilled its object in uniting the opposing parties. It suggested to the Left that M. Kerensky was moving towards the Right. The Right, on the other hand, took it as meaning that he was holding firmly to the Left.

Some of the criticism on the Right is directed against the use of the first person pronoun in M. Kerensky's speech, insinuating that he was aiming at a dictatorship.

It is most unfortunate that there has been rivalry between General Korniloff and M. Kerensky, or rather the impression of rivalry between them, produced by the behavior of their supporters. Thus the Left is dissatisfied by General Korniloff's rather spectacular arrival in Moscow, with his procession of motor – car's, his military guard, and pomp and circumstance of his stopping at the the Iberian Chapel outside one of the great entrances to the Red Square. This Chapel contains the wonder – working icon of the Mother of God, and a visit to it was always part of a Russian Czar's ceremonial entry into Moscow. General Korniloff, followed by his suite, left his automobiles and made his vows in the chapel before entering the Red Square on foot. The incident is only worth mentioning because of the impression which it produced among the Left.

Korniloff And Kerensky.

At today's session of the Conference the unwilling rivalry of these two men, both of whom have done great things for Russia, was marked in a most unnecessary manner. When General Korniloff appeared in the theater and walked to a side box, he received a tremendous ovation from the Right, during which the Left preserved absolute silence. M. Kerensky's appearance caused another ovation, in which the silence of the bourgeois political parties was

equally marked. Yet when General Korniloff himself came to speak the rivalry was no longer apparent. He spoke of the disorganization and demoralization of the Army caused by "measures taken for the reorganization of the Army by people who did not know the Army." He sketched grimly the military situation. Of peace he said; "if there are persons who talk of a separate peace, those persons must be told that peace at the present moment cannot be obtained, if only for the simple reason that we are not in a condition to carry out the mobilization. Everyone who knows what goes on in the Army can tell what will happen during demobilization."

On the other hand, he took by no means the line that is taken by many of his supporters – an uncompromising attitude towards committees in the Army. "I'm not an opponent of committees. I have worked with them, first as Commander of the Eighth Army, then as Commander on the south – west front." He holds that committees should control matters of supply but not the election of Army leaders. He is in favor of the institution of commissioners on the front as a means of connecting the front and the rear. Finally, he said that if the present decreased productivity in the nations continues Russia is threatened with a repetition of the disasters of 1915. He added: "Surely we shall not have to lose Riga in order to establish order in the rear, on the railways, and in the villages."

Need of Discipline.

Tuesday, 2:10 p.m.

Yesterday's session of the Moscow Conference ended at 1:15 this morning. General Korniloff had already left Moscow for headquarters. As suggested in yesterday's telegram, he does not go so far as some of his supporters in opposition to M. Kerensky. This was made even clearer by a summary of his views on the Moscow Conference which he gave in his train before leaving Moscow to representatives of the Committee of Journalist attached to the Cabinet. He said that the speeches heard during that day's session were enough to show that the general feeling of the country tended towards unification round the temporary Government and so ensuring it the authority it needed to carry out to the measures for the salvation of the country.

He again mentioned Army and regimental committees and said: "The majority of these committees not only approve of the measures projected by the High Command for the establishment of necessary discipline and fighting power in the Army, but are themselves the initiators of various proposals in this matter.

In the Ministry of War are numerous declarations from Army and regimental committees concerning the need for taking decisive measures for the reestablishment of discipline, without which, in their opinion, the existence of the Army is purposeless."

That is the fundamental fact which the Moscow Conference illustrates in every individual speech. Not one speaker is against the restoration of the Army. Not one speaker is against energetic resistance to Germany. Not one speaker is in favor of a separate peace. Not one speaker tried to disguise for a moment the appalling difficulties of the country. Not one speaker asked for anything but general unity in the work of the countries salvation.

Anyone who did not know the history of the last few months and the meaning attached by the different parties to the same experiences would be tempted to suppose that unity had already been attained.. Unity has not been attained. It is not been attained because of conflict, which is quite independent of the subject of most of the speeches, which is quite independent of the resistance to Germany, quite independent of the reestablishment of the fighting power of the Army. This conflict it was one of purely class interest.

Consider, for example, the incident over which M. Maklakoff was called to order by M. Kerensky. Maklakoff began his speech by saying: "there should be no place in the Government for "poragentes". Now, the "poragentes" were people who before the revolution believed that Russia's escape from slavery could be best aided by their military defeat. M. Chernoff, the present Minister of Agriculture, was one of those who held that belief. Since the success of the revolution that point of view is impossible, and M. Chernoff no longer holds it.

Right and Left.

M. Maklakoff, however, knew very well that his meaning would be instantly understood, and so it was. The whole Right section of the theater broke into violent applause, not because they believed that M. Chernoff is opposed to the defense of his country, but because they themselves are naturally opposed to his land measures. The Left section understood also and followed the applause of the Right with a counter demonstration of cheers for Chernoff. M Kerensky then interfered, saying: "there are no persons in the ranks of the Government who would not put the good of the country before all else." M. Maklakoff, with emphasis, repeated his words: "There should be no poragentes of yesterday." There was again tumult, and M. Kerensky requested M. Maklakoff not "to abuse freedom of speech."

That is a fair illustration of the hidden hostility that underlies apparent agreement. It showed itself in little things, as when M. Rodzjanko put M. Kerensky in an uncomfortable position by refusing to read the declaration of the fourth Duma when asked to do so, after, in accordance with the strict rule laid down at the beginning of the Conference he had been told that his time had expired.

The declaration, itself written by M. Miliukoff, is a direct challenged to democratic organizations. It asks for the independence of the Government from any resolutions of the Soviet, etc. It will be remembered that the Executive Committee themselves, of their own free will, gave dictatorial power to the Government. M. Miliukoff's object is simply to emphasize his belief that democratic organizations are party organizations, similar to his own – the Cadets. The declaration also contains a statement that the Government should not bring tendencies of international Socialism to work in defining Russian and Allied war aims, but should be influenced exclusively by the national interests of Russia. Finally, not without irony, it calls attention to "this strictly non— party character" of its demands.

On the other hand, the declaration read by M. Tehneidze, in the name of the democratic organizations, while far more constructive, was also not free from proposals such as forced contributions to the State Loan on the part of the rich, which is unlikely to lessen the hostility of the propertied classes. This declaration pointed out that democracy, in the person of the Councils, has not striven for a monopoly of authority, but has constantly supported the Government. "Always in everything it has set the interest of the country and the revolution above the interest of separate classes and groups." With regard to the Army, it states that the military command must be given complete independence, so far as operations and military activity generally are concerned. It asks also for the legalization of Army committees. The declaration ends with a summons to the support of the Temporary Government.

General Kaledin's Demands.

M. Tseretelli's speech, ending with the words: "Long live a close an actual democratic Coalition," was another illustration of the self – sacrificing patriotism of the Democratic organizations, whose position is analogous to M Kerensky's in that while attacked by the Right they weakened their support from the Left by every concession they make. The classes who are ready to

attack the Government are those without responsibility – the Left Extremist with their tramway strike and similar activities, and the other side M. Miliukoff and the Extreme Right. Between these two I do believe the Government will find sufficient support.

[We printed the last sentences as received. The context suggest, however, that a negative has been omitted in transmission – Ed. DN.]

Apart from M Kerensky, the best orators are certainly on the Right, which is natural since until the revolution the others had very small chance of speaking. M. Shuigin's speech was particularly noticeable as an example of first rate conversational, skillfully, studied oratory.

The purely military point of view was stated by General Kaledin, who was far more uncompromising than his Commander – in – Chief, with the result that his speech was punctuated by alternate applause from the Right and boos from the Left. It is difficult not to foresee the net result of the conference, which so far is little more than a gigantic spectacular debauch of public speaking. One result it will have. It will leave no doubt in the minds of anyone as to the real difficulties of Russia, since the opposition parties vie with each other so in stating the blackness of the position than in disclaiming responsibility for it. And the realization of the truth is at least a step in the right direction.

Bells of Moscow.

Tuesday, 6:29 p.m.

Today, while the forces which are forming New Russia are preparing for the final session of the Conference. Moscow was reminded of Old Russia and of Church traditions which have survived the monarchy and date back days long ago when Russia held some of the earliest Republics in modern Europe. There were Church processions of the Novgorod; there were Church processions in princely Moscow, in Moscow under the Czar's, and now Republic or no, Russia is reminded by the All Russian High Assembly of the church that the tradition is unbroken. At seven this morning deputies, who only got to their beds after yesterday's session of the Conference, are awakened by the sudden ringing out of the great bells in all Moscow's hundred churches. Then a thousand little bells broke in, and the air trembled with the long battle between the big bells and the little bells. Then, at 8 o'clock, rang out the famous bell tower of Ivan the Great, which solemnized by a peal the Coronation of each Czar.

Solemn services in all the churches followed by the March of the Cross, or a church procession. Altogether 223 churches took part, each one contributing to the gold – embroidered banners, the sacred icons. In columns priest in gorgeous robes met at the huge white Cathedral of the Savior below the Kremlin, close by the river. Then all marched together to the Red Square, where they formed in close order – an army of the Church, in their rich coloring and with their banners as some Army of the distant past. Here at the Place of Skulis, famous for Peter the Greats execution of 2000 rebels, a magnificent chanted service was held after which the whole procession turned into the Kremlin, through the famous gateway through which by order of Alexei Mikhadovitch, no man may pass with exposed head. It was as if in splendor the old spirit of Russia showed itself for a moment, while in the great theater not a mile away the debate was continuing as to the form of the body on which that spirit is to breathe.

DN August 31, 1917.

Critical Day In Finland.

Soldiers Stop Meeting of the Diet.

Governments Firm Action.

Petrograd, Thursday.

The majority of the Finns delegates thought better than to obey the summons to the meeting of the Diet after the dissolution by the Russian Government. The meeting was to have taken place yesterday. Governor-General Stakhovitch had pointed out that the responsibility for the possible unhappy results would fall on the Speaker of the Diet, who was in full possession of the facts of the Russian decision.

However, the summons of the Diet was not withdrawn. On Tuesday a meeting of the Russian local Council of Sailors, Soldiers, and Workers was held to decide whether the local Russian forces should support with armed force the decisions of the Government not to allow the meeting of the Diet. The Left wing, mostly sailors were against intervention, and suggested a settlement of the dispute by the committee. The Right wing, mostly soldiers, was in favor of full support of the Government.

The Finnish Social Democrat, Huttunen, was admitted to the meeting and said the Finns all wanted to meet for an hour to decide urgent economic and financial questions, but suggested that the Finns were prepared to submit. He added: "We believe the time will come when the Temporary Government will recognize the justice of our decision, and meanwhile we are satisfied by the sympathy we meet with from you in regard to the rights of Finland."

Yesterday, at eight in the morning, the meetinghouse of the Diet was occupied by troops. The closing of the Diet was first entrusted to Colonel Gulenberger, Governor of Nyland, who refused to carry out the order of the Governor – General, and resigned. The Executive Committee passed a resolution that the sailors should not leave their ships, so that in Helsingfors yesterday there were no sailors in the streets.

The Diet was to meet at one. Considerable groups approached the building before that hour, and over 100 Deputies were recognized. None were allowed to enter the building. By 2 o'clock the crowds began to disperse. The members of the Diet, however, met in the old building of the rural officials. Of 200 members – of whom 102 are Social Democrats – only 79 were present. A resolution to the effect "that this was a lawful meeting of the Diet" showed a sharp division, even in this small minority. It was passed by 44 votes against 35.

The Bourgeois parties, as a whole, are opposed to the whole affair, and now that this disagreement is revealed, even among the Social Democrats, it seems probable that the relations between Finland and Russia may resume their normal course. Peace in Helsingfors was unbroken throughout the day.

O. September 2, 1917.

Moscow And After.

Improved Position Of The Government.

M. Tseretelli Shakes Hands.

Petrograd, August 31.

The Moscow Conference has come and gone without the sensational results which were expected in some quarters and feared in others. It was not an

elected conference, and therefore did not pass resolutions of any kind. It did, however, provide an arena for the display side by side of all the opposing tendencies of Russian politics. It provided also an opportunity through the speeches of General Korniloff and General Alexeieff for public realization of the extreme seriousness of the military situation.

As one Petrograd newspaper sums it up, it was a court sitting in judgment, and the prisoner at the bar was the Russian soldier. He was invisible but all-present in the minds of the delegates-the simple minded, khaki clad peasant, kept absolutely uneducated by the old regime, not in the least understanding what he is fighting for, but capable of the heroism of 1915, and puzzled and excited by the ideas cunningly twisted for his undoing; capable also of ruining the whole fabric of the new Russian freedom which promised him a better future.

Korniloff's Warning.

Perhaps the moment when the Conference best realized this was when General Korniloff spoke of the impossibility of demobilization. Demobilization at the present moment would mean not a gradual and orderly return of the soldiers to their homes, but a loosing of a great tornado sweeping eastwards across Russia, putting the finishing touches to the disorganization of the railways and carrying famine and disorder from one side of Russia to the other. With that in their minds it is not difficult to explain the unanimity of all the speakers on one point – the need of a strong Government enjoying real authority.

The big Moderate majority in the Council of the Soldiers and Workers Deputies supported the Government, as they have consistently done since the Government became a Coalition. There speaker, M. Tseretelli, showed that they are willing to go far to meet the Right, and as a representative of Labor he risked his own popularity by publicly shaking hands with the representatives of the capital

ist, M. Buklikoff, who in turn earned, for his share in the incident, the disapproval of the extreme members of his own party. The extremist of both parties show themselves against the present Government. The Opposition on the Left, however, was very weak. The Opposition on the Right was more outspoken, and its attitude showed itself in incidents such as M. Rodzianko's conflict with M. Kerensky and M. Maklahoff's attack on M. Chernoff, who was particularly distasteful to the Right, because he is partially responsible for the Government's land program.

Kerensky's Changed Tone.

However, as the Conference proceeded hostility was less openly expressed, and though the total effect of the Conference cannot be definitely estimated, it was clearly enough indicated by the marked difference in tone between M. Kerensky's opening and concluding speeches. The first was that of a man going into a lion's den, and a preliminary cracking of the whip, which after all is an insufficient weapon. The second was full of the confidence of a man who, after taking a very considerable risk, has emerged successfully.

As for the opposing sides in the Conference, the Cadets are satisfied, because it afforded an opportunity for joining forces with other groups on the Right, and forming a political block in support of their program. The Soviet rejoices with M. Kerensky that the strength of the Government supporters has been demonstrated, and the political crisis has been avoided. The Government has been undeniably strengthened by public realization of the dangers.

DN. September 4, 1917. #1

Germans In Riga.

Russians Retire Again Without Fighting.

Whole Region Abandoned.

Fate of Troops West of the Town so far Unknown.

["Riga has been taken." The Germans at first reported, at a late hour last night, the most substantial success they have obtained on the Eastern front since the disorganization in the Russian Army first lent strength to their arms.

The danger, which "The Daily News" made plain yesterday, developed more rapidly than had been expected, and it is impossible at the moment to estimate the extent of the disaster that has befallen the Russian Army. Following upon the success of the Germans at Uzkull on Saturday, when they cross the Dvina and began to advance northwards, it was decided by the Russian Command to evacuate Riga and the whole region.

A glance at the map shows that the task of withdrawal may have involved very great difficulties. So far, the region west of the town had been held up to the

fighting line east and south of the Tirul Marsh. Whether the troops have been retired thence in time to avoid being cut off by the enemy now at Riga, and presumably to the east of the town, is perhaps doubtful. The railway to Petrograd over 300 miles distant, it is to be noted, passes through Riga.

Nothing so far shows whether or not the German Fleet has had any part in the operations. This situation in the Gulf was fully discussed by our Naval Correspondent yesterday.]

Starving Troops.

Alarming Position on the South-West Front.

Petrograd, Sunday.

The most significant item in the morning papers is the short announcement that the troops on the South-West front are suffering from starvation owing to the non— delivery of corn and the retention of essential food products by the rear. It is proposed to meet this by requisitions. The Government issued last night a special communication pointing out that the Army cannot exist without bread, and that those who hide corn or hinder distributions "give traitorous help to the enemies of Russia."

The coming hunger will affect not only the Army, but the big towns is, and will certainly help the Extremist.

DN. September 4, 1917-#2

Russian Plots.

Difficulties of the New Government.

Petrograd, Sunday.

It is very characteristic of the Russian Revolution that just as everybody has forgotten about Nicholas II., so the trials of Ministers of the old regime awake only very tepid public interest. Yesterday, the 10th day of the Sukhomlinoff trial, it was slightly different, because the interest attached not to prisoners, but to witnesses.

The Court, usually only half full, was crowded with people who wished to hear the evidence of M. Rodzianko, M. Miliukoff, and M. Gutchk . M. Rodzianko described the efforts of the Duma to stimulate the War Minister into belated activity. M. Miliukoff referred to the article "We are ready," attributed to General Sukhomlinoff and published a few months before the war began. M. Gutehkoff went further back, to the time of Stolypin's death, and sketched the story of General Sukhomlinoff's defense of Myzoyedoff, afterwards executed as a traitor.

It will be remembered that M. Gutchkoff accused Myzoyedoff before the war, and fought a duel with him. The evidence touched also on the discovery that the Austrians before the war knew even of a private conversation between the War Minister and the Emperor.

The political situation remains tense. The Executive Committees have gone very far in support of the Government, so far indeed that there is a danger of their outstripping their own supporters and becoming representatives of the minority instead of the majority.

I telegraphed yesterday of M. Tseretelli's defeat in the Petrograd Council of Workers on the question of the death penalty. Yesterday there was opened the assembly of the Social Democratic Party in which it became clear that the party was divided into fairly even fractions, one half supporting M. Tseretelli and the others supporting the Extremist Martoff. The Democratic leaders are fully conscious of the situation.

Meanwhile the newspapers announce that the Government, acting on information first supplied to them by the Council of Soldiers and Workmen's Delegates, have made a series of arrests in connection with the counter – revolutionary plot on the Right.

DN. September 6, 1917.

**The Defense Of Riga.
"No Shame" in Russia's Failure.
Effect In Petrograd.**

Petrograd, Tuesday.

It is useless to deny this strategical importance of the German crossing of the Dvina and the capture of Riga port. But the port itself is of no great importance without possession of the entrance to the gulf. In the same way, though the German threat to Petrograd is more feasible than it was, it should be remembered that the distance is very great, and the time during which the enemy can hope for passable weather is already very short. Autumn rains will in a few weeks make large scale operations impossible. The threat to Petrograd could become real this year only if the Germans succeeded in effecting a landing on the coast with a view to taking the defending troops in the rear.

"No Shame."

The political significance of the fall of Riga depends entirely on the conditions under which it fell. The elements on the "Right" seek to give it the same character as the disasters in the south, and so to use it against the democratic organizations generally. Hence the extreme importance of too long communications from Commissioner Vostinsky, who was present during the fighting, to the Executive Committee in Petrograd. These make it perfectly clear that the Riga Army fought well against the technical concentration of the enemy, with which they were unable to compete. Vostinsky says: "Before the face of all Russia I bear witness that there was no shame in this failure of our Army." He attributes it to the enormous technical superiority of the enemy. Russian regiments, cut off from each other, fought until practically destroyed. M. Vostinsky particularly says that desertion was limited to small handfuls of men in the rear.

A Sudden Searchlight.

The best illustration of what is going on in Russia at the moment is that the interest of the political parties alike is concentrated less on the fact of Riga's fall than on the character of the defense. The chasm between the Extremist of the Left and the Right widens, but the fall of Riga lights up the political struggle with a sudden searchlight. We see, for instance, M. Bogdanoff, in the Petrograd Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, saying, after reading the telegrams from the front: "Comrades, carry this news everywhere. There has been misfortune, but the revolutionary army is struggling to weaken that misfortune." That is the essential point. On the behavior of the troops at the front depends the fate of democracy in the rear, quite apart from the success or non— success of the Germans.

DN. September 7, 1917.

**Petrograd Menaced.
The German Plans by Land and Sea.**

Petrograd, Wednesday.

A third telegram from M. Voitinsky, the Assistant Commissioner on the Northern Front, is less hopeful than the previous cables. He states that steady rearguard fighting continues, and that there is no refusal to obey orders, but admits that the Russians, though successfully extricating themselves from the extremely difficult position caused by the German crossing of the Dvina, are now feeling the effect both of this effort and of the enemy artillery superiority.

"Many units," he adds, "are fighting nobly as during the first days, but in two other units there are signs of weariness and panic." Only those who know the ground can realize the tremendous strain to which the Northern Army has been subjected. East of Riga both the railway and the high road pass between two lakes. The whole Army, with all its belongings together with refugees, had to get out through this bottleneck, in order not to be cut off altogether. During a considerable part of this operation the bottleneck was under continuous enemy fire.

The Fate of Russia.

The Army committees worked unsparingly, and much of the resistance was due to their efforts. They issued an appeal, describing the intention of the Kaiser to destroy the freedom of Russia. "His hordes wish to take Riga and advance on Petrograd. We defend the land, our freedom. Today, in the second day of the battle of Riga, will be decided the fate of Russia, the fate of the revolution. The eyes of Russia are upon you."

There is no question but that on that day the soldiers fought back magnificently, but retreat from the Western side of the Dvina had already become inevitable, and that retreat had to be carried out under the difficulties already described. The fortifications at the mouth of the Dvina were not surrounded until after the occupation of the town. They were then blown up. German vessels succeeded in passing, or destroying, the elaborate minefields at the mouth of the Gulf, and it now seems probable that the Germans will attempt to develop their success by a combination of naval and land forces.

Menace to Petrograd

The bombardment of the coast south of Pernan suggests a possible landing, with a view to an advance on the railway center at Valk. Such an advance would contribute to the isolation of Revel. The land operations east of Riga consist of three simultaneous advances in different directions, with the evident object of separating the retreating Russians. One German column is pressing along the actual coastline. The task of this column will probably be to prevent troops from the South assisting the troops defending the coast. The second column, advancing northeastwards from Uxkull, aims at cutting the railway to Pekof as far east as possible. The third column, working more directly eastwards, makes the Russians position on the eastern bank of the Dvina unstable, and increases the difficulty of combined action between the troops holding these positions and those retreating from Riga. Further south there is heavy artillery fire.

In The Gulf.

Two factors make it difficult to judge how far the Riga operation is likely to develop. These are – firstly, the extremely conflicting estimates of the condition of the Russian troops; and, secondly, the hitherto untested power of the Germans to effect serious landing operations in the Gulf, and then, in the event of success there, to hasten the speed of their advance by a similar operation near Petrograd. Unless the normal speed of the advance is hastened in this way, it should not be possible for the Germans to reach Petrograd before the autumn rains bring retreat and advance alike to a standstill.

A further consideration is that by an advance in the north the Germans can only gain increased areas of starvation. The flour brought to Petrograd in July was less than 25% of the amount brought by rail in the same month last year, and slightly over 1% of the amount brought by water. The position of the capital with regard to food is already threatening, and measures are being taken to prevent refugees from the Riga district increasing the already hungry population. They are being turned south. The advance of the Germans may even ease the food situation in the capital by frightening away a proportion of the citizens. It can bring no relief to the food situation in Germany, such as would be brought by an advance in the South, which for that reason alone seems the more likely.

DN. September 12, 1917.

Russia & German Menace.

Better Outlook on The Riga Front.

Revolution & Its Aims.

[The following telegram from Mr. Ransome, our Special Correspondent in Petrograd, was dispatched before the news of General Korniloff's attempt to seize the reins of government had been made known. It, however, throws much light on the situation, and shows that the democratic classes in Russia are determined "to save the country from the ruin threatened by the Germans."]

Petrograd, Sunday.

(Delayed in transmission, received yesterday.)

Six months ago, before the disorders that ended in the revolution, M. Khabaloff, commanding the Petrograd Military District, issued orders promising to put down any kind of rioting. We owe to the Germans and to the Extremist parties that on the eve of today, which should have been a day of rejoicing, a precisely similar order had to be issued by his revolutionary successor. Manifestations on the part of the Extremist were expected today. Moreover, all political parties have disclaimed responsibility, so that it is concluded that the German agents are trying to make use of the feeling used by the Riga defeats and of the undoubted spread of Extremism among the masses.

So far, however, the day has passed quietly. The official organ of the Soviet prints an appeal to all classes not to demonstrate, since demonstrations help only reaction. In a leading article on the Army and the revolution, they point out that the revolution itself was due to the help of the Army six months ago.

Riga Disaster.

"And," the leader continues, "just as six months ago the Army saved the country from the ruin threatened by the Czar, so now it will save the country from the ruin threatened by the Germans. The soldiers will save and defend their country in spite of the dirt poured on them in innumerable newspapers and in the unpopular Duma by yesterday's servants of Nicholas II." This, of course, refers to the controversy still raging round the behavior of the soldiers during the retreat from Riga. The parties on the Right attempt to ascribe the

retreat from Riga to the lack of discipline among the soldiers, and hope to gain politically thereby.

In this connection yet another telegram from the Army Commissioners Stankevitch and Voitinsky is particularly interesting. After stating that the Army has taken up the positions assigned to it, the Commissioners report that the feeling is cheerful, that there is no depression, that the nervousness shown during the last days of the retreat is quieting down, that order is being restored in the rear, and continues: "In view of the very heavy losses the rumors which have appeared in the Press are a base libel on the Army." The representative of one of the armies engaged has reported in detail, and as a result the Executive Committee has decided to ask the Government to appoint a commission of inquiry.

DN. September 14, 1917.

**How The Rupture Came.
Korniloff's Amazing Demands.
Danger To The Army.**

**Petrograd, Monday.
(Delayed in transmission.)**

The last heavy blow struck at Russia was that of the disorders in Petrograd in the beginning of July, and the debacle in the south-west, for which they were the signal. A new blow, even more serious, has just been delivered from an entirely different quarter.

Yesterday the town was quiet, although demonstrations had been expected. People in the streets did not know that Russia at that moment was once again in the melting pot. Today official statements are issued by the Government showing that there has been an actual attempt to overthrow it, and replace all powers in the hands of the Commander. – in – Chief. On the other hand, those who know General Korniloff, those who heard his speech at Moscow, are unanimous in believing that he is too good a man to play the "Boulanger."

Korniloff's False Position.

There are certainly circumstances which suggest that he has been placed in a false position by unscrupulous politicians. If Korniloff had not supposed that

he would be supported in what he proposed by members of the Government he would hardly have warned them of his intentions. It seems clear that Korniloff was moved by false information as to the state of affairs in Petrograd. Unfortunately, though it may lessen Korniloff's personal responsibility, that does not affect the result of his action, which may well mean a split in the Army, and the consequent weakening of Russia at a moment when she needs every ounce of her already exhausted strength.

I can supplement the official communiqué on the subject with the following facts. On Saturday morning M. Lvoff asked to see Kerensky. Kerensky, whose whole day was already full of appointments, did not at all suspect the purpose of his visit, and asked him to make an appointment for Sunday.

The Ultimatum.

Shortly before four in the afternoon, just before the meeting of the Temporary Government, Kerensky was called to speak by direct telegraph with Headquarters, when it became clear that something out of the ordinary was occurring there. He immediately sent an orderly for Lvoff, who delivered his extraordinary message, namely, that the person's grouped about Korniloff had decided that the Temporary Government was to lay down its authority and that civil and military power was to pass into the hands of Korniloff. In Korniloff's name, Lvoff then actually offered Kerensky the post of Minister of Justice in the new Government, and said that M. Savinkoff would be given the post of War Minister. Lvoff further invited both to proceed immediately to Headquarters.

After consulting with his friends Kerensky gave Lvoff a decisive refusal, where upon Lvoff, after trying to persuade him, rose and announced his intention of returning to Headquarters. Kerensky informed him that he would be unable to carry out that intention. Lvoff was arrested.

Stern Action.

This is the same Lvoff who when the Temporary Government was formed after the revolution was given the post of Procurator of the Holy Synod. He was taken to the Winter Palace, where on being questioned he named a considerable number of persons who took part in the plot. At night he was taken to the fortress of Peter and Paul.

During the night there arrived disquieting telegrams from Korniloff's Chief of Staff, General Lukhovsky, and from M. Philomenko, the Government Commissioner at headquarters, who was afterwards arrested by Korniloff, with a view to preventing misunderstandings that might be caused by his departure. Lukhovsky's telegram went so far as to state that in case the Government did not yield to Korniloff's demands the result might be a division among the troops, and consequent successes for the enemy. The Government appointed a new commander in the Petrograd District, Captain Kozmin, who took the steps for guarding the buildings in Petrograd and for dealing with any troops that might be sent by Korniloff. These troops – cavalry – are said to be at Dno and Luga, which is about 60 miles from Petrograd. This is unconfirmed.

Rejoicing in Berlin.

The present difficulty is not lessened by the fact that Russia had reunited the Army after the disasters in the south. The Army had, for the most part, fought well in the retreat from Riga. But if these events develop into a fratricidal struggle, neither party will have cause for rejoicing. The rejoicing will be in Berlin, not in Petrograd. Such a crisis as this may end in civil war. Thus the Cossacks have already declared themselves on the side of Korniloff. It also opens the way to manifestations from the extreme Left. In any case, it's whole character is likely to intensify class feeling and to set democracy in opposition to the bourgeoisie and the soldiers against their officers, which, unfortunately I have had many occasions to point out as the inevitable end of agitation either on the extreme Right or on the extreme Left. These two extremes help each other, and their end is civil war. It is to be hoped that the Government, supported by the Executive Committee, may be able to deal with both enemies at once and save Russia from threatening danger.

DN. September 15, 1917.

Korniloff's Cause Wrecked.

Ex-Generalissimo's Manifesto & Appeal to the Russian People.

Exposure Of Riga Plot.

Kerensky Recalls Two Famous Army Commanders.

[Our Special Correspondent in Petrograd, Mr. Arthur Ransome, telegraphs the first summary which has reached this country of General Korniloff's proclamation to the Russian people, the publication of which was at first

prohibited by the Provisional Government.

The ex-Generalissimo attempts to justify his revolt by accusing the Government of acting under the influence of extremist, "in full agreement with the plans of the German General Staff." His object, he says, is the salvation of Russia and to lead the people to victory.

All other telegrams from Petrograd state that the revolt is collapsing. The main facts as stated are: General Krimoff commanding Korniloff's troops has committed suicide after seeing Kerensky.

General Russky and Dragomiroff have been appointed to the commands on the Northern and South – Western fronts.

Korniloff and Lukhomsy have expressed themselves as ready to submit to trial. General Kaledin has been arrested.]

Russia's Salvation.

Korniloff's Object in Raising the Rebellion.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

(Delayed in transmission.)

General Korniloff's reasons for attempting to depose the Government are becoming more clear. In reply to the numerous proclamations of the Government he has issued a manifesto.

In this he describes the Government as acting under the influence of the Extremist Majority in the Soviet in full agreement with the plans of the German General Staff, and after appealing to the religious instincts of the soldiers, proceeds:

- I. General Korniloff, son of a peasant Cossack, declared to all and sundry that I personally need nothing but the salvation of Great Russia, and I vowed to lead the people by the road to victory over the enemy to a Constituent Assembly, which will decide Russia's fate and choose the form of its new State.**

Another statement made by Korniloff, which increases the mystery surrounding the events of the past few days, is that he did not send M. Lvoff to Kerensky, but that first of all Lvoff came to him as envoy from Kerensky. There is, in fact, accumulating evidence that Korniloff was misled in more directions than one by false information.

Kerensky as Army Chief.

The main object of M Kerensky's assumption of the office of Commander – in – Chief – with General Alexieff as his Chief of Staff – is to prevent distrust between the troops and the High Command, which otherwise would be likely to follow on Korniloff's adventure.

With regard to the plot itself, it becomes daily clearer how close was the connection between the political struggle and the controversy over the Riga retreat. It is clear that when Korniloff spoke of the fall of Riga at the Moscow conference, saying, "Must Riga fall because order in the rear cannot be restored?" he was well aware that Riga was on the point of falling. The Russians had already begun removing guns. The Uxkull position had been abandoned by orders of the High Command. This is borne out by the small number of guns claimed in the German reports.

Korniloff's supporters hoped to carry through their coup d'état helped by public panic due to the fall of Riga and to the fear of a general rout. Hence the reports from Stavka emphasizing such disasters as occurred, suggesting that the troops on a large scale had failed in their duty, and flatly contradicting the reports from the Army Committees and the actual commanders of the troops engaged. Some days before the plot showed itself, I myself heard a responsible highly placed official state his definite opinion that Headquarters were consciously, for political reasons, coloring their reports.

Rebels Mistakes.

In the Soviet yesterday, M. Voitinsky, Commissioner on the Northern front, whose telegrams on the behavior of the troops I have several times quoted, made out a clear indictment of Korniloff on this point. Korniloff and Lukhonsky seems to have counted on the support of the Army, and mistook the feeling of Headquarters for the feeling of the Army as a whole. They also commented on support in Petrograd itself, and attributed greater influence to such organizations as the "Military League" than these really possessed.

Further, they were misled as to the attitude of the Cossacks, mistaking the Cossacks dislike of disorder for dislike of the temporary Government, which certain parties on the Right consistently attacked as being too weak to suppress disorder.

A number of officers from headquarters had come to Petrograd, and it is said had prepared to attack the temporary Government and Executive Committee, and even assassinate Kerensky. The Hotel Astoria, where they were staying, was unexpectedly occupied by sailors led by twelve officers and accompanied by members of the Executive Committee. fourteen arrests were made. The apartments at the Military League were searched, documents seized, and Fedoroff, the Leagues President, arrested. M. Gatchoff and two correspondents of the "Noveo Vremya," Filatoff and Egeroff, the latter whom is known in England, were also arrested, as also was Colonel Clerget [on the General Staff.]

Meanwhile Petrograd is well prepared to resist in case of need. Yesterday a large body of Kronstadt sailors arrived to take part in the defense of the capital. Preparations are also being made for arming the workers if necessary. At a meeting of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates M. Dan spoke in detail of the parties struggle and of the attempt of the Cadets Party and of the Generals to smooth over the incident by compromise and to explain it as a misunderstanding. Revolutionary democracy rejects such a compromise over Korniloff's mutiny. The Democratic view has triumphed, and the Government has decided on a merciless struggle with Korniloff. This has had a good result, as part of the High Command which was ready to join Korniloff, counting on the yielding nature of the Government, has remained faithful. Korniloff's plot has only strengthened and rallied democracy.

M. Dan. touched on a very difficult point when he spoke of the release of the Maximalists which has been asked for by the Extremists. He said it was difficult for the Government to release the Maximalists at a moment when they were accused of being bought by the Germans. Further "release of the Maximalists might have an unfortunate influence on still wavering elements, in particular among the officers." The real danger at present lies in a possible Extremist outbreak. The situation, however, is now generally much more helpful, and the town preserves an absolute calm.

DN. September 19, 1917.

**Petrograd Danger.
Impossible Demands of the Soviet.**

Petrograd, Sunday.

The Ministerial crisis has been temporarily solved. I do not think it an exaggeration to say that this is due to the retiring Ministers, Skobeleff and Avkentieff, who, joining Tseretelli in the Executive Committee, were able to bring their personal influence to bear in preserving the Executive Committee and the Government from dropping apart. Extremism has been spreading fast, and it had seemed as if the whole broad base of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates were slipping to the Left; while the Executive Committee clings to the moderate position and is threatened with the loss of support from below.

Thus it might easily have happened that the Government, supported by the Executive Committee, would find that the Executive Committee no longer represented the Workmen's and Soldiers Deputies. This danger is very real in the capital because the Petrograd Council is far more extreme in its views than the Workmen's and Soldiers Councils of other districts. Agreement between the Government and the Petrograd Soviet is impossible. It was Skobeleff and Avkentieff's task to secure agreement between the Government and the Executive Committee, representing the whole Russian democracy, and at the same time to attempt to make the Petrograd Delegates realize that it ran the risk of isolation if it tried to force the Government to watch Petrograd instead of watching Russia. A temporary agreement at least is now secured.

Another Conference.

A joint meeting of the Executive Committees after hearing Skobeleff's appeal for support for the Government, passed by a big majority the Moderates resolution deciding to summon an assembly of democratic organizations and organs of local government to decide the question of the organization of authority. Meanwhile the Government is invited to remain as now, with the knowledge that it will be fully supported by the Executive Committee in the organization of the defense of the country and in the struggle with the counter – revolution.

An essential point is that the Executive Committee urgently demands from the democratic classes of the population not to be led away by provocation, to await the decision of the democratic assembly, to refrain from independent action, and to oppose lynching. This assembly will meet in Petrograd not later than September 25. All will not then be plain sailing. There is no doubt whatever that a steady increasing bulk of the democratic organizations will oppose any coalition with the Cadets. Martoff, referring to the fact that there are no Cadets in the Council of Five, said that the crisis had been solved satisfactorily and in an unexpected manner this is a pretty clear indication that the Extremist reserve the right of independent action the moment other elements are introduced into the Government.

Trouble on the Right.

Meanwhile the Kronstadt Council repeat the demand for the release of the Kronstadt men imprisoned in connection with the July disorders. This was partially satisfied by granting bail in certain cases. The Extremist newspapers, Gorky's "New Life" and the Leninite "Laborer," have been officially suppressed. "New Life," however, appears in the same form as before changing its name to "Free Life." The "Laborer" continues to appear without any change, a party of sailors guarding the press and refusing to allow any interference. These are eloquent indications of the trouble on the Left.

Trouble on the Right exists in two forms, the refusal of the industrial capitalist representatives to enter a Ministry which does not include Cadets, and the spreading of the influence of Kaledin in the Don Cossack country. The further final announcement that Russia is a Republic in name, as well as in fact, though satisfactory from the point of view of the Left, displeases elements on the Right, who hold that the pronouncement should only have been made by the Constituent Assembly. Besides these troubles the series of lynchings of officers at Vyborg, Tammerfore, Abo, etc., all tend to weaken the Russian defense in Finland, and suggest that German provocateurs are at work with a view to facilitating a German landing.

DN. September 20, 1917.

Kaledin's 'Romance.'

No Danger Now of Cossack Rebellion.

Petrograd, Tuesday.

The threatened Cossack rebellion has been averted. Following the telegram which General Kaledin sent yesterday to General Kerensky, stating that he was ready to give explanations in person, and had no wish to cause difficulties for the Government, in order to avoid complications in the Cossack country the order for Kaledin's arrest has been rescinded, and he will go voluntarily to Headquarters.

This affair of Kaledin and the Cossacks was at the same time a more romantic and a more dangerous matter than the Korniloff rebellion. For a week General Kaledin has lived the life of the brigand chief, riding from place to place with the Cossack guard, continually avoiding arrest, gathering Cossack support, and threatening the North of Russia with the cessation of its food and fuel supply. His telegram to M. Kerensky withdraws at least one of the many threats hanging over the head of Russia.

Telegrams announcing the attitude taken by the "Times" and certain other newspapers towards the Korniloff mutiny are having a very bad effect here. Gorky's paper, "Free Life" prints the heading: "Part of the French and English bourgeois Press Exultantly Acclaims the Mutiny of Korniloff."

The Democratic Assembly next week will probably justify itself by clearing up the present doubtful position of the Executive Committees. The Petrograd Soviet is far more extreme than the All-Russian Executive Committee, and the Democratic Assembly will prevent Petrograd from having a disproportionate influence on the solution of the present crisis.

O. September 23, 1917.

[This is Ransome's final dispatch to the Observer in 1917. He has two dispatches to the Observer in early 1918.]

**Class Cleavage In Russia.
The Swing To The Left.
Socialist Struggle For Power.**

Petrograd, September 20.

Russia is suffering from the consequences of the Korniloff mutiny, which has hastened the already marked tendency of democratic parties towards the Left. The leaders of the Moderate elements of these organizations have found themselves alone in their original position, the whole body of their supporters having moved away from them towards Extremism. The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates is now definitely Extremist, and its president and vice presidents, whose sense of impending responsibility has compelled them, if anything, to move towards the Right, have had to resign their position as leaders of a body they could no longer represent.

After the Korniloff affair the great bulk of the Moderates became opposed to any Coalition which should include the Cadets. It is almost impossible to form a Coalition Government without Cadet participation, because other important bourgeois parties make the presence of Cadets a condition of their own acceptance of a share of responsibility, and this makes the Moderate attitude for practical purposes almost indistinguishable from that which from the first days of the revolution has been persistently proclaimed by the Extremist, whose watchword has been "All authority for the Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers." That is to say, class division is more clearly marked than ever before, and the possibility of class warfare has been brought definitely nearer.

Meanwhile M. Kerensky, who has always stood for a Coalition, is being attacked by parties on the Right and the Left. Further, although the danger of Cossack revolt under General Kaledin has been avoided, the relations between the Cossack organization and the rest of Russia are difficult, since the Cossacks refused to recognize the Government's dismissal of General Kaledin from the post of Cossack Atamand, to which he is elected by the Cossacks and not appointed by the Government.

This is the state of affairs during which the Council of Five direct the country, temporarily assisted by ex-Ministers, who, though they have resigned, remain at their post until the general position is cleared up at the meeting of the Democratic Assembly which is arranged to open on Tuesday. This Assembly includes representatives of the executive committees of trade unions and organs of local government. The Cadets and other bourgeois parties have not been invited. The Cossacks have protested because they, too, have received no invitation. The Assembly sets itself the task of organizing the authority which shall represent the will of the people and be responsible to the people, and to organize the form of this responsibility and to establish the form of relations between the democratic organizations and the Government.

One thing is certain. The Assembly will not agree to the continuance of the dictatorial powers of the Government. Some form of Parliamentary system will be evolved in which the Government will be responsible to the body indicated by the Assembly or possibly to the Assembly itself. Further, if Extremism in the majority at the Assembly is Socialist a Cabinet in which the bourgeois classes will not be represented will probably be formed.

DN. September 24, 1917.

Korniloff Plots.

Charges of Conspiracy to Form a Military Dictatorship.

Petrograd, Sunday.

German activity on the Dvinsk front has delayed M. Kerensky's return from headquarters to Petrograd. From headquarters, however, he telegraphed instructions to continue the formation of the Cabinet.

The publication of documents concerning the Korniloff mutiny caused a tremendous impression with the result that the Bureau of the Executive Committee demands that Skobelev, Avksentieff, and Chernoff, who were then in the Government, shall inform the Bureau how much was known to them at the time. The Bureau sums up the results of the published statements as follows: "The late War Minister Savinkoff offered, apparently in Kerensky's name, for the consideration of General Korniloff three variants of a dictatorship. Moreover, during the negotiations they discussed the participation of Korniloff, Savinkoff, Filenfenko, and Kerensky himself in various combinations. The announcement of an individual or collective dictatorship was to coincide with the declaration at Petrograd under martial law, and with the merciless destruction of Petrograd revolutionary organizations and of the Laboring masses under the guise of pretended Bolsheviks plots. With this particular intention was carried out by agreement between the temporary Government and the headquarters the bringing of the Third Cavalry Corps to Petrograd. Further, this military operation was to be the signal for the realization of the repressive measures demanded by Korniloff and for the establishment of a military dictatorship."

The Government is said to be preparing a statement on the subject, which will be issued on M. Kerensky's return. No statement, unfortunately can destroy the profound feeling of mistrust and insecurity already caused among the Left parties.

DN. September 27, 1917.

**Political Danger.
Growing Strength of the Extremists.**

Petrograd, Thursday.

M. Kerensky returned from Headquarters at six o'clock. M. Terestchenko met him at a station halfway and made a report in the train on the general position, and particularly of the failure to form a Ministry.

The Moscow Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates has followed Petrograd. There also is now an Extremist majority. Even more significant is the vote in the Executive Committee, which hitherto has firmly held a moderate position. They have passed a resolution by a small majority in favor of a coalition, but followed by a very large majority amendment refusing coalition with the Cadets.

DN September 29, 1917.

**New Crisis In Russia.
Kerensky Faces His Enemies.
"Fight To A Finish."
Strong Appeal To The Democracy.**

Petrograd, Thursday.

The Democratic Assembly was opened this afternoon in the Alexandra Theater. M. Cheidze, who presided, at the beginning of his speech announced the arrival of M. Kerensky, and in a moment everyone who had come to the conference uncertain what character it would have knew that it was to be the scene of a real and desperate struggle. M. Kerensky stood up in what was the Imperial box facing the stage. He was received with an ovation of cheers, so energetic that it was not immediately clear that a large section of the Assembly was resolutely silent.

Then he came through the theater and reached the tribune by a bridge arranged over the orchestra. Standing by the tribune he greeted the Assembly in the name of the Government. Then, dramatically leaving the tribune, he

stepped forward on to the temporary bridge, and said: "I now speak not for the Government but for myself."

Tremendous Effort.

I find it hard to write of the speech that followed. I was within a yard of Kerensky as he spoke, saw the sweat come out on his forehead, watched his mouth change as he faced now one, now another group of his opponents, and I am still under the powerful impression of Kerensky's tremendous effort.

At Moscow the Premier faced his enemies on the Right. He now confronted his enemies on the Left. The Right for the moment is silent, but after the first few moments of Kerensky's speech it was evident that the Left had come to the Democratic Assembly with a definite intention. It is clear that Kerensky is fighting for the actual life of the Temporary Government against determined enemies. He was interrupted again and again and in a manner which left no doubt that the struggle this time is to be to a finish.

The German Menace.

M. Kerensky referred to the German menace in the Gulf of Finland and to the other grave dangers threatening Russia. He spoke of the Korniloff affair, rebutted the charges that he himself desired a dictatorship, and said that Korniloff's was not the first ultimatum that the Government had received, and had shown itself capable of withstanding. And all the time his speech was punctuated by scornful remarks, by jeers, by shouted insinuations.

The speech ended in a tremendous ovation, but one-sided as before. My impression is that the Extremist are slightly in the minority, and that Kerensky and the principle of the coalition will win through. Feeling is extraordinarily high, but in the Assembly itself I believe the weight is with Kerensky.

DN. October 2, 1917.

Kerensky's Hard Task.

Maximalist Opposition to a Coalition Government.

Russia's Internal Conflict.

Petrograd, Friday.(Delayed)

Kerensky's speech and its reception gave an accurate foretaste of the first day of the Assembly. Orators who followed him illustrated in detail the conflict whose reality had been forced upon the consciousness of all by Kerensky's words and by the fusillade of little – minded taunts and interruptions with which they were met by a section of the Assembly.

Lenin and Zinovieff, who are still hiding from arrest, did not make their promised appearance. Kameneff instead spoke for the Bolsheviks. Of course, he opposed all coalition, and with adroitness rather than accuracy defended the Bolsheviks from the charge of being the first cause of Korniloff's mutiny. But the Bolshevik attitude was more clearly illustrated by the insults they threw at Kerensky and by the jeers or applause with which they received the statements of Russia's difficulties than by the words of their official spokesman.

I watched some of the interrupters closely. It was evident that they had come prepared to interrupt. They alone at the moment of terrible difficulties brought to the Assembly the irresponsible nonchalance of a debating society, sitting there smiling and indifferent to the words that to the speakers represented blood and tears. They watched their opportunities and made use of them with unanimity. Moderate parties during the last month have moved distinctly nearer to the Bolsheviks political position. Moderates do not say with the Bolsheviks "All power should be in the hands of the Soviet." But they do began definitely [rest of sentence unreadable]

Cadet Stumbling Block.

The Social revolutionaries have actually split on this point, some following Chernoff, who, while in favor of a Coalition, rejects a Coalition with the Cadets. This attitude means practically a rejection of Coalition with the bourgeoisie, since other bourgeois parties express their solidarity with the Cadets. Kerensky's views is that a Coalition is necessary for the salvation of the country, and that only those Cadets should be excluded who took an ambiguous attitude towards the Korniloff mutiny.

It is impossible, in my opinion, not to understand the mistrust of the Cadets among the Democratic parties. The Cadet leaders have themselves to blame. From the first day of the revolution, when Miliukoff pronounced for the retention of the dynasty, a steady succession of events has forced mistrust into increasing numbers of members of the Soviet, and overwhelming majority

of whom, it will be remembered, began by being determined supporters of a Coalition. Miliukoff's note, followed by an attempt to see the Bolshevik outbreak as a protest against the Soviet as a whole, was followed by rejoicing at the Soviets weakening. When it voluntarily surrendered its power of control, it was followed by open Cadet hostility, manifested at the Moscow Conference. This was followed again by Miliukoff's ambiguous attitude towards the Korniloff mutiny.

DN. October 4, 1917.

Fight For Power.

Extreme Demands of the Maximalists.

Petrograd, Tuesday, 2 p.m.

The most notable difference between the present Democratic Conference and that of Moscow is that at Moscow, when faced by opposition, the Bourgeoisie Democratic elements preserved a more or less unbroken front, whereas here, alone and in its own house, so to speak, agreement between the sections seems practically impossible. Voting on the main questions is announced for this afternoon. The Bolsheviks proper are in the minority, for which reason they have attempted to improve matters by bringing a hundred fresh delegates from the factories and regiments demanding places and votes on the ground that the proletariat is improperly represented.

An attempt by the Bolsheviks to secure street manifestations has failed, and the delegate effort to weight the dice of the Assembly was made instead. The hundred got into the building, but their demands were not granted, although as a compromise three were allowed to harangue the Assembly, much to the disgust of the majority in the latter, who were tired out, at after 2 o'clock this morning.

As far as can be told from the extraordinary even balance of the voting in sections, the decision, if left to an All - Russian Assembly of the Soviet would have been, if not actually Bolshevik, at least of a complexion sufficiently extreme to be practically a triumph for the Bolshevik policy. Thus they are the party that loses by broadening the base and including sections of the democracy which are unrepresented in the Soviet. Their uncompromising position makes impossible the formation of a solid democratic block which might carry the country through to the Constituent Assembly. This is the more tragic, because even more so than at Moscow the ends desired by all sections

of the Assembly are very nearly identical. The quarrel concerns only the means of getting there. Sincerity is noticeable among the representatives of all views.

It is just this irreconcilable conflict between differing and passionate sincerities that makes the tragedy of recent events in Russia. Extremist on the Right by the Korniloff affair, in the name of strengthening the Army, have destroyed the work of months, and flung the mass of the soldiers into the hands of the Extremist on the Left. Extremist on the Left after refusing coalition with the bourgeoisie, are beginning to prepare the ground for a refusal even of democratic coalition, demanding what amounts to Bolshevik dictatorship.

The leading article in today's Bolshevik newspaper the "Workers Path" declares that the Bolsheviks are prepared to support the Tashkent Soviet throwing over allegiance to the Government.

DN. October 6, 1917.

'New Coalition In Russia: Lessening the Power of the Soviets.

[The proposal to form an exclusively Socialist Cabinet in Russia has been abandoned after an exchange of views between M. Kerensky and the delegates from the Democratic Conference. According to the following message from our Petrograd Correspondent, Mr. Arthur Ransome, a Provisional Parliament is to be set up, which will include, in all probability, representatives of the propertied classes. M. Kerensky's successful stand for a Coalition – in opposition to the Maximalist demands – would seem to have strengthened his position.]

Petrograd, Thursday.

The voting at the Democratic Conference on the question of a Coalition Government occupied five hours, and was attended by scenes of great excitement. Extraordinary uproar followed the announcement of the result. The majority in favor of was given as 78. The Maximalist complained that this majority was obtained by the Co-operative vote – 140 for and 34 against – and the old objection was again heard that the Cooperators had no right to be at the Assembly.

After an interval, two amendments were put to the vote. The first was for excluding from the Coalition all who took part in the Korniloff affair, and was passed by 797 against 139, 96 not voting. The second amendment was for excluding the whole Cadet party, and was passed by 595, against 483, 73 not voting. It is impossible to describe the tumult when these results were announced. The reason was that the amendments canceled the primary resolution.

The vote was that taken on the total resolution, including both amendments. Man after man went to the tribune announcing that his party would vote against the total resolution, which was now obviously useless, satisfying neither the Coalitionists nor opponents. Eventually the total resolution was put to the vote, and was rejected by 813 against 80.

We stand now practically where we stood when the Assembly opened. A further resolution was passed that the Assembly will not disperse until it has found a formula for the organization and function of an authority acceptable by democracy.

Seeking a Compromise.

Later.

Yesterday passed in efforts to secure some kind of working compromise between the evenly balanced opposing parties in the Democratic Assembly. Recognizing that on a number of fundamental points all parties were as one, the Executive Committee of the Conference prepared a resolution which it was hoped would meet with general approval. There was some difficulty in this, because while one side was unwilling to take the rejection of a Coalition as final, the other wished to consider that rejection as a starting point for further discussion.

Four points are generally agreed-upon – that the Government should be organized on the basis of the program read by M. Cheidzo at the Moscow Conference; the foreign policy should be directed towards a speedy conclusion of a general democratic peace; that the Government should be responsible to a representative "organ," organized by the Assembly, and that a special "organ" be formed whose function would be to negotiate with parties and groups in forming a Government. A fifth point as to the possibility of enlarging the "organ" to be created by the Assembly by the instruction of representatives of the propertied classes showed again a fundamental difference of opinion, the voting being 56 in favor and 48 against, while 10 did

not vote. To lessen the resulting ambiguity the question of Coalition was once more put into the vote, and Coalition was rejected by 69 against 30.

Teretelli's Appeal.

M. Teretelli ask despairingly, "How can we talk of governing the State with the forces of democracy alone, when in our own small body we are unable to form a Coalition?" It was finally resolved to withdraw the question of Coalition and to recognize as binding the program read at the Moscow Conference, with the addition as above on foreign policy, and to elect an "organ" to be entrusted with the formation of a Government on this program, not being bound by any definite direction with regard to the inclusion of any particular elements.

M. Kerensky came to the meeting, made a short and emphatic speech, and left immediately. He declared himself in favor of Coalition, and said that in the event of a decision against Coalition he would not remain at the head of the Government. He suggests that the formation of a provisional Parliament on a national basis – not by the Assembly but by the Government. He further said that if the Assembly decided against Coalition he would bow to the decision but would not take part in the organization of such a Government, as he believed this would be the turning point towards the liquidation of the revolution and the ruin of the country.

"Tremendous Row."

Resolutions embodying the above – mentioned points were voted severally, and passed by overwhelming majorities. When, however, it came to voting on the resolution as a whole, it was stated that the Maximalists would vote against, basing this action on an alleged change in wording. They said this dodged the real object of the resolution, since it expressed the willingness to collaborate with the existing Government. The result was a tremendous row. M. Terestelli said that in dealing with the Bolsheviks it was necessary to have two secretaries and a notary as witnesses. After further turmoil the Bolsheviks left the Assembly en masse, and voting on the resolution as a whole took place without them. The resolution was passed by 820 against 106, 60 not voting. The position is still doubtful, because of the point in the resolution recognizing the possibility of calling into the Government representatives of the propertied classes. This point was passed by a smaller majority than the others.

Following the all – night sitting M M. Cheidze. Tseretelli, Avkentieff, and others went this morning as a deputation to M. Kerensky and gave him the text of the resolution. A lively discussion followed regarding the construction of the Cabinet. M. Kerensky holds to his demand for a Coalition, and it is not unlikely that the Provisional Parliament to be chosen by the Assembly will be enlarged by the addition of representatives of the propertied classes.

DN October 8, 1917.

**Russia's New Parliament.
Coalition Cabinet In Formation.
Better Outlook.
750 German Prisoners In Bukovina.**

[Petrograd telegrams report that an agreement has been reached between the democratic and bourgeois parties regarding the formation of a new Coalition Government. The new Provisional Parliament held its first sittings on Saturday. The main result of the political agreements arrived at has been to drive deeper the wedge between the Maximalists and the other democratic parties, and our Special Correspondent in Petrograd, Mr. Arthur Ransome, says that herein lies a possible source of danger for the new Government.]

Petrograd, Saturday.

The Government has completed the preliminaries for the formation of a new Government. M. Terestchenko has returned from Moscow, bringing with him the probable members of the bourgeois parties who will join the Coalition. The proposed appointments include: M. Skobelev, who will return to his old post as Minister of Trade; M. Masloff (Peasants Executive Committee), Minister of Agriculture ; and M. Kartaseff, Minister of Religion.

The Government holds that the Provisional Parliament will be an advisory institution which is not bound to bring all questions that may arise for Parliamentary consideration. The right of legislation belongs to the Government, not the Provisional Parliament. However, the Provisional Parliament will have the right to criticize measures taken by the Government, and the Government will make a periodic report on internal and foreign affairs. The composition of the new body will diminish enormously the influence of the Soviet in Governmental affairs. It is already obvious that the Provisional

Parliament is far more moderate than the Democratic Assembly as a whole and infinitely more moderate than the Soviet.

Later.

The Democratic Assembly ended in uproar, which clearly illustrated its most important result. This is the definite hostility between the Bolsheviks (Maximalists) and the rest of the democracy. The Bolsheviks describe what has happened as "A bargain with the counter – revolution," and if, as seems probable, the next All – Russian Assembly, which the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates intend to call for November 2, has a Bolshevik majority the Provisional Parliament will find itself faced by a strong opposition from below. Its position may be analogous to that of the Executive Committees, left high and dry by the general ebb of the bulk of its supporters to the "Left." Thus there is a danger that the Government may find in the Provisional Parliament moral support only, unbased as the Councils are based on the wide support of the Army and the workers. The danger, however, may be more apparent than actual, owing to growing political apathy, a growing willingness to support anything rather than new disorders and to the knowledge that the date of the Constituent Assembly is so near.

DN October 9, 1917.

Russian Crisis Over.

The New Parliaments Program.

Maximalists & Kerensky.

Petrograd, Sunday.

Yesterday's meeting in the Malachite Hall of the Winter Palace brought the Government crisis markedly nearer at least a temporary solution. Representatives of the democracy and of the propertied classes met under the chairmanship of M. Halperin, general secretary to the Government. He was chosen as holding a neutral position. Ministers were not present, but came in when necessary to give explanations on particular points. The main result was a revision of the Moscow Democratic program, with a view to finding a formula generally acceptable. The most important points remain, including death

duties, property tax, State monopoly of common necessities, State control of industry and Labor bureau.

The main principle of agreement was the inclusion of all points realizable under present conditions and not needing the sanction of the Constituent Assembly. Thus the land question caused the most trouble. The proposal of handing all land to local land committees was rejected, while proposals defining the rights and duties of these committees and the impermissibility of land grabbing were passed. The war program aroused no discussion, all parties being agreed in support of the views of the present War Minister and on the need of raising the fighting power of the Army. With regard to local government, the Moscow declaration was changed by the decision that the Government commissioners are not to be locally elected and then confirmed by the Central Power, but appointed in the first place by the Central Power.

Parliament and Cabinet.

The solution of violent opposition on the question of nationalities was solved after a long debate by a compromise. The Government recognizes the right to to self – definition on bases to be laid down by the Constituent Assembly, and has appointed a Council for the preparation of material on this national question. With regard to the Provisional Parliament, it was decided that the number of representatives of the propertied classes shall be from 120 to 150, roughly corresponding to the proportion in which the propertied classes are represented in the organs of local government, namely, about a quarter of the whole.

With regard to the rights of the Provisional Parliament, there was a lively debate. It was resolved that the Government should issue a special decree. It is understood that the Provisional Parliament may send to the Government questions, but not demands. On the question of responsibility, it was pointed out that this was merely a matter of formality, since if the Provisional Parliament has authority, as representing democracy, the Government, whatever may be the formal conditions, will have to reckon with it. I think these the main decisions with which the Democratic representatives met the Provisional Parliament yesterday evening.

Strengthening Authority.

The actual first meeting of the Provisional Parliament, or, as now officially named, the Democratic Council, was at three o'clock in a big room in the queer

old Town Hall on the Nevsky Prospect. It is announced that its general organization is to be much like that of the Duma, with the council of elders, a president, four vice presidents, two secretaries, and two assistant secretaries.

After hearing the report of the negotiations – summarized above – and when various parties had stated their own positions a resolution was passed recognizing that by the formation of a Provisional Parliament, to which the Government was bound to render an account of its doings, a great step had been made towards strengthening the authority and the realization of the democratic program. At the same time, the resolution demanding formal recognition of Government responsibility, and declared that authority may belong to such Government as enjoys the confidence of the Provisional Parliament.

The character of the opposition to this agreement is best illustrated by the declaration of the Bolsheviks that the delegation to the Winter Palace disobeyed its directions. "We said that coalition with the Cadets was impossible, and that the irresponsibility of Kerensky must be stopped. Instead they offer us coalition with the Cadets and the strengthening of Kerensky's irresponsibility." A conflict is probable between the Assembly of the Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers Delegates, summoned for November 2 and of the Provisional Parliament, if the Bolsheviks are right in assuming that they will have a majority.

DN. October 22, 1917.

The Evacuation Of Petrograd.

By Arthur Ransome.

"What is one man's poison is another man's drink." Russia has illustrated this truth before, and will illustrate again. Just as the three million deserters of the spring months did actually reach their homes in the nick of time to save by helping in the sowing this year's corn crop, so the evacuation of her capital is likely to prove for Russia the opposite to a disaster. The Germans by advancing or by threatening to advance, are actually helping the Russians to achieve an end which they proposed to themselves some time ago.

The Problem of Food.

The essential point in Russia's unstable equilibrium has been the food supply. The population of Petrograd has increased enormously during the war. That is to say, the appetite of Petrograd has increased enormously during the period that has witnessed a corresponding increase in the difficulty of bringing food to the capital. For months on and the majority of the population has had an appetite that, as I can testify from personal experience, has been very like a permanent state of hunger. And political excitement has waxed and waned in exact proportion with the acuteness of this hunger. Consequently the reduction of the Petrograd population has for a long time been recognized as desirable, and committees have been at work trying to bring it about. Every day in the Russian papers appear bulletins on the "Rakgruzku" (the unloading of Petrograd), and so far these bulletins have not been very encouraging. Thus I remember reading that "the efforts of the committee have resulted in the exodus of 14,000 of the inhabitants," and a little further down, "unfortunately during the same period, in spite of all precautions, the population has increased by over 20,000 owing to the influx of refugees from Riga district."

Leaving the City.

All kinds of measures were introduced with a view to reducing this influx. Train loads of refugees were diverted southwards. A system was introduced whereby persons could leave the capital freely, but could not return there without special permission. The result of this was to add another variety to the already great number of queues. Beside the bread queues, boot queues, cigarette queues, candle queues, oil queues, appeared a new quarter – mile tail of people waiting to get permission for their relatives in the country to come home, or for themselves to return after short absences from Petrograd. These measures and others did have the effect of getting a number of richer inhabitants to leave, but were quite inadequate to produce the large – scale exodus which alone could make the capital into a stable seat of government instead of into a volcano which a couple of days misfortune might wake into activity.

Official Preparations.

Consequently, for a long time the actual evacuation of the Government had been decided upon.

The fact was not published, and was even publicly denied, because knowledge of the imminence of such an event might have caused an unnecessary panic, and might have led to political trouble owing to the unwillingness of certain political sections to see the Government slip out of their control and into an atmosphere where political thunderstorms were less permanently on the skyline. It was, however, known that preparations were being made lest such a moment as the present should arrive. The banks were ready to flit. The Ministries had their destinations assigned to them – not in Moscow, but in various provincial towns (this to avoid producing in Moscow to the circumstances that were undesirable in Petrograd). Long ago all that could be packed was packed, and each Ministry received a request to estimate the exact amount of cubic space it would require in the event of a definite removal.

Difficulties Lessened.

The food problem of Moscow is slightly less difficult than that of Petrograd; both towns falling in the northern eating area and depending for their food on the south, so that their lines of supply cross the lines of supply of the front. The difficulty is, therefore, not solved by transfer. But by the centralization of the Ministries and by limiting the capital duties of Moscow to providing a sitting place for the Cabinet the difficulty will be certainly lessened. Also, just as the air of Moscow is clearer, and the Muscovites are more cheerful, more serene than the air and the inhabitants of the city in the swamp, so is the political atmosphere of the ancient capital more equable and less liable to electric disturbance. So far the nervous disorders of Petrograd have timed the pulse of the country. It is possible that the shifting of the Government may cause that pulse to regulate itself by the more even heartbeats of Moscow. Long ago, before the revolution, going to Moscow from Petrograd was like getting out of the sick room. Since the revolution this difference has been even more marked. Further, the transfer tends towards the unity of the country, not only now but later. There has been high feeling between those who wish the Constituent Assembly to meet in Petrograd as the birthplace of the revolution, and those who demanded that it should meet in Moscow as the old heart of the nation. The solution of this question from outside increases the hope that the decisions of the Assembly will be generally recognized.

DN. November 9, 1917.

‘Another Revolution in Russia. Kerensky Deposed and in Flight’

[Mr. Arthur Ransome, "The Daily News" Special Correspondent in Petrograd, whose illuminating dispatches here for many months past been widely quoted in the British and Allied Press, is at present in England, and sends us the following comment on Wednesdays events in Russia.]

The news from Russia means that the Extremist formula, "All power in the hands of the Soviets," has been put into effect, at any rate in Petrograd. This has been long expected by all who observed the increasing strength of the Extremist party, which in the early days of the Revolution was insignificant, but gathered recruits with every move made against it by the Cadets and other parties on the Right. Banners were in the streets proclaiming this formula on the occasion of Miliukoff's Note to the Allies in April. They were seen again at the crisis which produced the first Coalition.

In greater force they show themselves once more during the great Bolshevik outbreak in July. The Extremist or Bolshevik Party gathered new impetus after Korniloff's mutiny, which swept into their ranks many who till then had supported the Moderate Party in the Soviet. First the Petrograd Council, then the Moscow Council, showed an overwhelming Bolshevik majority, and Moderate Executive Committees were forced to resign. These same Moderates, including Tseretelli and Chkheidze, were also members of the Executive Committee of the All Russian Soviet, and perceiving that their support was slipping away from beneath them, called a Democratic Council, to which they invited representatives of Cooperative Town and Land Committees, with a view to the artificial creation of a body which should more or less supplant the Soviet. The resolutions of the Democratic Council were even no less definitely Moderate than seemed desirable, and Tseretelli roused the great resentments by still further softening even such essential points as that of the responsibility of the Government to the Preliminary Parliament.

This last body, now dissolved, included representatives of parties on the Right, based, not on any electoral footing, but on the representation of these parties in the Government. This, I believe, represents the main line of the argument against the Preliminary Parliament which, according to the Bolsheviks, was a packed body usurping the position of the all – Russian Soviet.

The lack of bloodshed during the Bolshevik coup d'etat is due to two causes – first, the comparative unanimity of the classes represented in the Soviet; and, second, to the fact that large masses of the population increasingly despair of politics, and, though possibly disapproving are willing to stand aside. It remains to be seen whether Petrograd will be followed as easily by the rest of

Russia, but in view of the Bolshevik majority in Moscow this is not unlikely, though the Cossacks of the South will almost certainly hold aloof.

DN. November 10, 1917.

Vital Factors.

Attitude of Army and the Peasants.

The Soviets Strength.

By Arthur H. Ransome.

Conflicting messages from Petrograd leave so many factors in doubt that it is impossible to form any certain judgment on the scope of the revolt or on its chances of permanence. There are, however, some facts which should help us to avoid an unnecessary inaccurate estimate of the situation.

In the first place, it is folly to deny the actual fact that the Bolsheviks do hold a majority of the politically active population. This was foreshadowed by the local Soviets both of Petrograd and of Moscow. It is definitely confirmed by the information telegraphed by "The Daily News" Correspondent in Petrograd that out of 175 delegates to the All – Russian Congress of Soviets 335 were Bolsheviks. That means the majority of other local Soviets have followed the lead of the capitals.

Bulk of Army Bolshevik.

The statement that the Executive Committee sides with the Provisional Government refers of course to the original moderate Executive Committee, and they could hardly do anything else, since they had, in the Bolsheviks view, forfeited their claims to represent the Soviet by attempting to supplant it by the artificially constructed Democratic Council, the direct object of which was to counteract the recognized growth of extremism due to the Korniloff mutiny. That ill – starred folly is today reaping the harvest that it sowed.

With regard to the permanence of the new order, that depends first on the attitude of the Army, and, secondly, on the ability of the new Government to keep its very large promises to a hungry town population and to a peasantry demanding such things as agricultural implements, which the old Government was unable to supply. Artillery and cavalry may take action against the Soviet,

but the bulk of the Army is infantry, and the bulk of the infantry is Bolshevik. With regard to keeping its promises, a Government ready and willing to bleed the rich may temporarily, at any rate, be able to fill the empty veins of the poor, and, so far, be able to count on their support. We should remember, too, that the argument holds good both ways, and that should the Soviet be displaced its destroyers will be faced by the same problems, and that failure to solve them will tend inevitably to a new growth of Bolshevism.

Question of Peace.

As to the attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the war and towards the Allies it may be expressed in the formula (their own): "We are opposed to separate peace with Imperialist of any nationality." They do not want any peace which would leave Russia in the position of being a sleeping partner of Germany. On the other hand, they are opposed to assisting what they regard as Imperialist aims on the part of ourselves. They will probably use their new position to press more inconsistently than their precursors for definition of Allied war aims. If, however, we wish to force them into a more hostile attitude, and perhaps into separate peace, we cannot do better than to follow the example of some of this morning's newspapers in loudly condemning what we do not understand.

DN. November 12, 1917.

Bread And Peace.

What the Majority of Russia's Desire.

By Arthur H. Ransome.

Telegrams from Russia are as conflicting as the parties there engaged in civil warfare. They read like official reports from the headquarters of opposing armies. This, in a sense, they are, since they are sent out from controlled stations. There is, perhaps, some significance in the fact that in the later telegrams from the Bolshevik headquarters the control seems to be weakening. In one matter all telegrams agreed, and that is on the very limited amount of actual fighting.

A few men with an organization behind them have been able to seize the government of Russia. Members of the Officers Training School either left their posts at the palace or surrendered when a bomb was thrown through the

window. Why? Because they did not care enough for the Government to defend it. That is the vital factor.

Neither the Bolshevik Government nor the Kerensky Government represents the majority of Russians, because the majority of Russians do not care one way or the other. The majority would acquiesce in anything that should give them bread, peace, and some sort of order. This last the Bolsheviks can give, as Kronstadt proved, with its perfect order and Bolsheviks Soviet. But bread and peace are neither in Lenin's gift nor in Kerensky's. Meanwhile, if, as some of the telegrams suggest as likely, Kerensky's troops enter Petrograd, the majority of the population will prefer to see them there than to live with a disquieting possibility that they are on their way.

From the point of view of the Allies, the Bolshevik revolution, whatever maybe it's final outcome, is an illustration of the actual state of Russia. The Soviet is the broadest – based elected body in Russia. The revolution took place in obedience to its vote. The dissatisfaction and desires of those voters will not be changed even if they are incapable of successfully carrying through an operation which those desires and dissatisfactions dictated. It was Kerensky, not Lenin, who said the other day that "Russia is worn out." No Government will be permitted in Russia except one that can feed her and allow her to think of recovering from her fatigue.

DN. November 20. 1917.

Russia And Peace.

Germany Talks Of A Monarchy.

No Negotiation.

Without A Restoration Or Parliament.

[From Our Special Correspondent-Not Ransome but Ransome writes a comment]

Petrograd, Sunday.

News is being spread here, which I believe to be fully authentic, that Germany has replied to the telegram of the Soviet asking for peace, stating that Germany could only negotiate with Russia after the restoration of the Monarchy, or the convening of the Constituent Assembly. Although I am not

permitted to state the source of this information, I have reasons to believe that the statement is genuine.

[On the above, Mr. Ransome, our Special Correspondent lately in Petrograd writes:

If it is indeed true that the Bolsheviks Soviet has offered peace to Germany, it means that the Bolshevik leaders are themselves desperate. Up to a month ago the worst accusation which one Russian political party could throw at another was that it was in favor of a separate peace. Every party has publicly proclaimed a separate peace would mean no peace, but further disaster for Russia, and the proposers of such a peace must know that by doing so they were uniting all other parties against them. It is, of course, hard to judge. Is it possible that the Soviet, in accordance with the published Bolshevik program, offered Germany and other Powers an armistice and that Germany, with a view to dividing Russia from her Allies, has chosen to reply to an offer of peace which never was made?

DN. November 22, 1917.

**Kaledin And His Cossacks.
The End Of Petrograd?**

Of all the men I have met in Russia Kaledin gave me the strongest impression of contained force. A smallish man, with a personality that dominated in spite of his stature, with a face that seemed carved in unpolished pale Finnish granite, he brought with him a new spirit to the Army that he inherited from Brusiloff. I was for some time with him on the south western front, and used to lunch daily at his staff headquarters. These meals are an excellent illustration of his character Bresilov had been a brilliant talker, much addicted to monologue, loving the pomp and circumstances of command. His staff had become accustomed to listen. There arrived Kaledin, ascetic to the point of austerity, and preferring to hear others speak then to talk himself. He would take his seat at the center of the table that had once been the setting of Brusiloff's brilliance, get through his food at great speed and return to work. The staff accustomed to listen, too much afraid of Kaledin to risk speech, sat as silent as himself, and it used to be one of

my amusements to listen as they filed out of the door and hear the sudden burst of conversation as they left that door presence, like men taking breath after breath after swimming for a long way underwater.

Cossack Control.

With all that, only the inefficient disliked him. It was impossible to dislike a man so obviously single – minded, so obviously well – minded, as Kaledin. I am quite sure that whatever Kaledin does he does it because he thinks that it is the best thing for Russia, without the slightest thought of how its success or failure may affect himself. I remember scribbling in my diary after I left him that here was a man who, if he felt he could do good by putting his fist through the concrete wall, would try it, and that, damaged or not, the fist would come through on the other side.

This is the man who at the present moment controls the Cossacks, and so controls the food supplies, the coal supplies, and the oil supplies of Northern Russia. When the Temporary Government demanded his surrender after the Korniloff mutiny the Cossacks tried him themselves, declared him "not guilty," said there was no need for further trial, and denied the Government's right to take from him his post of Ataman , or chief of the Cossacks, which they said had been given to him by Cossack vote, and not by the Russian Government. Since then he had remained in the Cossack country and now that Northern Russia is leaderless, Moderates and Bolsheviki alike look to the South in fear of Kaledin.

On the Edge of Starvation.

For Kaledin has Northern Russia, both Petrograd and Moscow, at his mercy. Perhaps it is already too late for him to use his mercy. It is not as if Petrograd was ever easy to feed. For nearly 2 years Petrograd has been approaching nearer and nearer, inch by inch, to the perilous edge of starvation. It has been fed only by great effort, and the utmost use of what inefficient transport remained. The shortest stoppage of transport from the Cossack Land of Plenty, and the brink will have been passed, and the stupendous catastrophe of Northern Russia will have begun,

and will sweep inexorably to its end. Petrograd and Moscow have lived from hand to mouth. What if there is nothing in the hand? The factories stop for lack of fuel, and the huge industrial population wanders without food or employment. Motors are useless for lack of petrol.

I think of Petrograd, the city in the swamp. There is no escape for the citizens by the Warsaw railway, or the Baltic railway. By those lines masses of starving soldiery will be returning from a fruitless front. There is no escape for them by the Finnish railway, for barren Finland lives on Russia's bounty and will itself be starving. There is the Moscow line, and even if any considerable proportion of the inhabitants could so escape, will starving Moscow welcome starving Petrograd? The huge masses of Petrograd must escape on foot, in winter, through an immense area of forest, swamp, and barren country.

And Then?

That is the nightmare which Kaledin and the Cossacks may lose in Northern Russia. That is the nightmare which may be ??? already, through no will of theirs, to sweep away Bolsheviks and Moderates alike with the expiring multitude in a disaster more gigantic than Napoleon's retreat from Moscow.

And what then? There will be no question of peace or war for Northern Russian. Northern Russia will have slipped from the world into the abyss. Germans may go there or they may not. They will find nothing but denying folks asking for bread.

DN. November 23, 1917.

What Is Bolshevism?

The most important thing to be remembered in estimating the present situation in Russia is that "Bolshevism" is a tendency white independent of the personality and doctrines of the Bolshevik leaders. When during the last few months in Petrograd as observed to each other that more

and more people were turning Bolshevik, we meant not that they were embracing the principles of Socialism as expounded by Lenin, but simply they were coming near to active and open hostility to the Government.

Strictly speaking, a Bolshevik is a member of the majority party at a conference of Russian Socialist held some years before the war. The majority as opposed to the minority at that meeting were in favor of an extremist policy. They are Marxist Socialist who preach class warfare. They have always been an extremely well – organized party, ruled almost autocratically by their leader, Lenin. Their attitude towards the war has been dictated by their already opposition to war in general. This attitude has not been dictated by other measures.

The Capitalists And War.

Thus, they repudiated all socialist of whatever country, who voted in favor of war credits, because they believe that for the proletariat questions of frontiers have no interest, and the wars, whether won or unsuccessful, are of advantage only for the capitalist classes, and to those directly parasitic upon them. In their view the working classes of all countries form one nation, the capitalist classes form another, and the struggle between them is of more importance to humanity than any other conflict whatever. Thus with regard to the Stockholm Conference, so far from

[Remainder unreadable.]

DN. December 22, 1917.

Bolsheviks & Allies.

Danger of a Separate Peace with Germany.

Criticism Of British Policy.

Stockholm, Friday.

I have just had a talk with Vorovsky, the Bolshevik Minister to Sweden. Vorovsky's official title is Plenipotentiary Delegate from the Republic of Russia. Gulkevitch, Minister of the old Government, remains in undisturbed possession of his title and of the original Russian Legation. All the business of the Legation, however, is carried on in Vorovsky's offices in a flat close behind the big gray building by the quays, which still bears the Russian Eagles. None but occasional diplomatic couriers can enter Russia without Vorosky's official visa on his passport, and I found a tiny anti-room of the flat crammed with would – be travelers.

Vorovsky is a Pole, with all of the Polish quickness: talks English very well, and is perfectly at home in French or German. He gave a very clear outline of Bolshevik views with regard to their opponents, peace with Germany and England, and (even more interesting) with regard to their own continuance in power. Vorovsky was confident of eventual victory for the Bolsheviks in the Civil War now proceeding in the South of Russia.

I asked what connection there was between the Kaledin affair and the prohibition of Cadets from taking part in the Constituent Assembly. He replied: "The closest. Kaledin is at open war with the Republic and many of the Cadets are his active supporters, and they talk openly of putting down the Bolsheviks – that is to say, the working classes – by force of arms. They cannot be allowed both to vote in the affairs of the Republic and work for its downfall. It is probable that many of them will be dealt with by law as traitors."

The Guillotine.

I said: "Within the last few days a telegram has been published in London reporting that Trotsky announced that within a months time the Bolsheviks intend to introduce the guillotine. Have you a comment on that?"

"Certainly. You know the first act of the creed of the Bolsheviks was the abolition of the death penalty. But we are faced with the difficulty of which Dukhonin's death was an illustration.

"We had actually hoped to persuade Dukhonin to work with us. He was non-party, and is man of great ability. Therefore, as soon as he was arrested we put him in the same railway carriage as Krylenko, Roshal, and other Bolshevik leaders, with a strong guard of sailors on whom we could absolutely rely for his protection. We should have got him away safely but for something over which we had no control. Korniloff escaped, and news of his flight reached the

station just as the train was about to start. An infuriated crowd of soldiers overpowered the sailors, through a side Krylenko and Roshal, who did their best to interpose, and literally tore Dukhonin to pieces. That is a danger of which parties working against us refuse to realize. Continual sabotage on the part of the bourgeoisie may exasperate the mass of the people to such an extent as to carry them beyond the control of their leaders.

To Prevent Worse Things.

"The guillotine may be necessary to prevent worse things. Trotsky, like all the Bolsheviks, is opposed to the death penalty, and when he spoke of the guillotine he was merely pointing the inevitable result of the policy of the Bourgeois parties."

I asked: Did Bolsheviks realize that on the success or failure of the Russian Revolution depends on the fate of other democracies besides the Russians. Vorovsky replied:

"The Bolsheviks think in terms, not of Russian democracy merely, but of all democracy. They believe that the interest of the working class are the same in England, Germany, France, or Russia. In Russia alone have the working classes control over their destinies, and that only since the Bolshevik Revolution. If in the earlier stages of the Revolution bourgeois politicians in Russia had not succeeded in disguising the true state of affairs, the English, French, Italian, and German democracies would long ago have been at one with the Russian. The war would have been over without a conqueror and without conquered. We are not for making a separate peace because we wish it. Our will is for a general peace on democratic lines. I have read the peace aims of your Labor Party. They are not essentially different from our own. If they were the views of your Government, Russia would not be faced with the danger of making a separate peace."

I said: "Then you admit that Russia is faced with that danger?" He answered:

"You have lived in Russia long enough to know that Russia is not in a condition to carry on war. Russia must make peace. It is for her Allies to choose whether that peace is to be a separate or a general peace. We recognize clearly that a separate peace will be bad for democracy throughout Europe and especially bad for Russia. We believe that better terms for the future of Europe would be secured if Germany were faced at the Peace Conference by all the Allies, if all the democracies were to lay down their peace terms together. We fear that

Germany dealing with Russia first and afterwards with the Allies, will be able to get better terms on both sides of Europe. Apart from other considerations, a separate peace with Russia will be used in Germany, in the absence of a revolutionary movement in that country, as a success from which the Pan – Germans and the military caste alone will profit. Further, by setting themselves against peace the Allied Governments are forcing Russia not only to make the peace alone, but also into a position of dependence on Germany. They are compelling a Russo-German rapprochement."

I asked what was the Bolshevik attitude towards England. M. Vorovsky said: "Our quarrel is not with the English working class, but only with the English Government for clinging obstinately to the desire to defeat and to destroy Germany. We do not wish to destroy anyone. It is not in the interest of democracy to do so. By clinging to that desire the English Government have postponed the conclusion of a democratic peace so long as to force Russia into her present position. As for the English people in Russia, the Bolsheviks have nothing against them, but it is only natural that they should share the unpopularity of their Government."

I asked did he imagine that Germany would tolerate a Bolshevik Government in Russia for a moment longer than would serve her own purposes. He answered:

"Bolsheviks know very well with whom they are dealing, and recognize that Germany will not wish to have a Bolshevik Government for a neighbor longer than she can help. But apart from that, we know that when the land question is settled, the peasants will naturally turn further right. Our rule can be only temporary, since we are representatives of the industrial class, who are a minority in Russia, unless as now, they are supported by the peasants. At the present moment the peasants support us – wherefore it is ridiculous to pretend that the Bolshevik Government does not represent the majority. But we know that this will not last. However, we hope to do so much during the time we hold power that we shall ensure the realization of Socialistic reforms which are successors will be unable to abolish. Further, once and for all, we have demonstrated the possibility of the working classes having their own Government in the teeth of the classes opposed to them."

DN. December 31, 1917.

The New Russia.

Bolshevik Government "Efficient, Energetic and Decisive."

M. Trotsky Interviewed.

Meaning of German Peace Offer.

[Mr. Arthur Ransome, the Special Correspondent of "The Daily News," has returned to Petrograd after his visit to England. Great changes have taken place during his absence of nearly 3 months, and in the important dispatch printed below he describes the position as he finds it under the new order.

He declares that the Bolshevik government, the only possible one at the moment, is extremely efficient, energetic, and decisive. He denies that the Administration is refusing to allow the opening of the Constituent Assembly, the real reason of the delay being that up to the time of telegraphing only 391 delegates out of 800 had been elected, whereas the necessary quorum is 400.

Mr. Ransome has interviewed M. Trotsky who expressed to our correspondent his belief that the war will be decided by social rather than military pressure. M. Trotsky's regards the German offer as a victory of the democratic movement generally. The Germans by democratic pressure have been forced to throw aside their grandiose plans of conquest.]

Orderly City.

What a Bolshevik Defeat Would Mean.

Petrograd, Saturday.

I arrived at Petrograd to find that the reports appearing in the English Press were based mainly on willful misrepresentation by the Opposition newspapers here. This city is more orderly than it had been for some months before the Bolsheviks took control. For the first time since the Revolution the Government in Russia is based on real force. The people may not like the Bolsheviks, but obey them with startling alacrity.

The present Labor Government is extremely efficient, energetic, and decisive, though faced by the noisy opposition of the privileged classes, who, though quite unable to replace this Government by one of their own, are doing all that they can to shake it by means of sabotage and libel.

An example of this is a reiterated statement that the Bolsheviks are refusing to allow the opening of the Constituent Assembly. The facts are these.

Waiting For A Quorum.

The Bolsheviks have nothing against the opening of the Assembly as soon as there are 400 delegates present to form a quorum. The full Assembly would be 800. Up to yesterday there were 391 properly accredited delegates. Of these, are 123 are Bolsheviks, 204 Social Revolutionaries, 30 Ukrainian Soviet delegates, 11 Cadets, and 23 of various less important groups. Social Revolutionaries divide, I believe, approximately half and half, the left half definitely supporting the present Government.

This present Government has nothing to fear from an immediate meeting of the Assembly, were that possible. I am told by a Menshevik member of the Assembly Commission that the Assembly will meet as soon as the Ukrainian delegates arrive, he supposes not sooner than ten days time. From the English point of view, the important thing to notice is that whatever is the decision of the Constituent Assembly constituted as above, it will not alter the essential direction of Russian policy, although it might, by weakening the Government at home weaken it also in the dealings with the Germans. Any attempt to turn out the present Government by force – supposing such force were available which it is not – or any acts of violence against it, can have no result except a state of anarchy favorable to nobody but the Germans.

M. Trotsky's Office.

I saw M. Trotsky by appointment today at Smolny Institute. At the end of a long corridor door of what was once a convent school for girls I found the door with a piece of paper fastened on it with the words, "Peoples Commissary for Foreign Affairs." Beside it stood a sentinel who was a workmen from the Red Guard, in ordinary clothes, with a rifle and bandolier over his overcoat. In an anti-room one of M. Trotsky's secretary, a young officer told me M Trotsky was expecting me.

Going into an inner room, unfurnished except for a writing table, two chairs, and a telephone, I found the man who, in the name of the proletariat, is practically the dictator of Northern Russia.

He has a striking head, a very broad, high forehead above lively eyes, a fine cut nose and mouth, and a small cavalier beard. Though I had heard him speak before, this was the first time I had seen him face to face. I got an impression of extreme efficiency and definite purpose. In spite of all that is said against him by his enemies, I do not think he is the man to do anything except from a conviction that it is the best thing to be done for the revolutionary cause which he has at heart. He showed considerable knowledge of English politics

"Russia Is Strong."

I asked him for an explanation of the belief in Russia's strength which led him to demand in the name of the Russian Labor Government more generous terms than at the present moment any other Russian party would have dared to ask.

He said, "Russia is strong in that her Revolution was the starting point of a peace movement in Europe. A year ago it seemed that only militarism could end the war. It is now clear that the war will be decided by social rather than military pressure. It is to the Russian Revolution that the German democracy looks, and it is the recognition of this fact that compels the German Government to accept the Russian principles as a basis of negotiation."

I asked whether, then, M. Trotsky considered the German offer as a joint victory of the Russian and German democracies.

He replied: "Not of Russian and German democracies alone, but of the democratic movement generally. The movement is visible everywhere. Austria and Hungary are on the point of revolt, and not they alone. Every Government in Europe is reeling from the pressure of democracy from below. The German attitude merely means that the German Government is wiser than most, and more realistic. It recognizes the real factors, and is moved by them. The Germans have been forced by democratic pressure to throw aside their grandiose plans of conquest and accept a peace in which there is neither conqueror nor conquered." He admitted, however, that this can hardly be achieved unless the Allies joined the conference.

Changing Circumstances.

I asked what would be the position of Russia in the event of the Allies refusing to take part. He replied that he was not a prophet, and that the circumstances to be considered were both complex and changing.

With regard to the attitude of Ukraine towards peace negotiations, a telegram from Kiev, dated yesterday, contains a protest in the name of the Ukrainian Republic demanding that the Ukraine shall participate equally with other Powers in peace negotiations. Ukraine demands to have its representatives at Brest.

On Friday the newspapers here received news of the peace terms of the Central Powers. Through nearly all the articles runs a thread of doubt, which may be said to be due to two reasons – first, the fact that peace, which a day or two ago seemed outside the bounds of possibility, now appears possible; second, to a certain extent the terms have been attained by the Bolsheviks; but through all runs the thread that the Allies are now bound to consider the propositions seriously.

Understanding With Allies.

M Chernoff, ex-Minister of Agriculture, devotes a lengthy article in the Socialist Revolutionary Party center paper, "Dielo Naroda," where he submits the German terms to a merciless criticism, but finishes: "A year ago, when Germany announced that her only aims in this war were defensive, I stated then that the refusal of the Allies to enter into negotiations with her was an enormous mistake. Now, one may ask, what is the position regarding peace? After Germany's answer it is this – that now more than ever it is essential to have an understanding with our Allies."

The "Volta Naroda, the organ of the Extreme Right Social Revolutionary Party, also criticizing the terms, states that nonetheless by this act the question of general peace having been raised requires immediate decision. It states it is essential that the Constituent Assembly should decide the question at once. In the talk of a general peace all the Allies must agree between themselves before hand, so that all misunderstanding should be removed.

The "Dien" organ, strongly pro-- Ally, states that the Allies of the Entente have a unique chance of lending definite content to the elastic German formula that an honest arrangement of the question of peace on the basis of no annexations

appears under the present conditions the worthiest way out of the position into which the world war has driven all humanity. The "Dien" further states that if the Allies recognize a status quo as a basis they could force Germany to make concessions.

Next Word With Allies.

In giving these newspapers opinions I have been careful to select those which have been pro-- Ally and opposed to a separate peace, and at the same time absolutely representative of Russian democracy. Pro-- Allied Russians see that Germany offered these terms for the purpose confounding the Allies and winning the sympathies of those Russians who are still opposed to peace without their Allies, but all say that the next word belongs to the Allies.

